THE LIFE OF THE MOST REVEREND AND RELIGIOVS PRELATE *Iohn Whitgift*, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury.

VVritten by Sir *George Paule* Knight, Comptroller of his Graces Houſeholde.

ROMANES. 16. 17.

Now I beſeech you Brethren, marke them diligently which cauſe diuiſion and offences, contrary to the doctrine which yee haue learned, and auoide them.

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VINCIT QVI
PATITVR.
OBIIT ANNO
ÆTATIS SVÆ 73

TO THE MOST REVEREND FATHER IN GOD, GEORGE, Lord ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBVRY, PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, AND Metropolitane: one of the Lords of his Maiesties most Honourable priuie *Counsell.*

MOst reuerend and my euer-honoured Lord. I see it incident to personages of high place and deseruing, to win by their liuing fauours, many obsequious followers, who after their decease, proue but colde remembrancers of their bountie, or other vertues. VVhich slackness in others, forced that boldness in me, rather to choose

the hazard of disreputation to my penne (which was neuer cunning:) then to my heart which shall neuer be vngratefull. And therefore I haue presumed to set downe the godly and religious courses of the most Reuerend Archbishop *Whitgift*, your Graces late Predecessour, to shew mine owne obligation to his memorie, and to make knowne his worthie parts to future ages. And because your Graces beginnings, shew how carefull an embracer you are of his chiefest vertues, as well in your industrious studies, as in your priuate & publique gouernment: I held it my dutie to present both this, and my best seruices to your Grace, that here you may see (if nothing else) those vertues in another, that are so aymed at by your selfe. VVhich make many true affected hearts pray, that by your godly, vigilant, and prudent guidance, his Church may long and happily flourish among vs.

To your Grace most bounden

GEO. PAVLE.

To the Reader.

IT was farre from my thoughts, that these first draughts of mine, which I onely intended as minutes and directions for a more skilfull penne-man; should euer haue shewed themselues to the world, had not the backwardnesse of some, and the importunitie of others, driuen me to the Orators *resolution; who saith,* I had rather my man should doe it, then my selfe: yet my selfe, rather then none at all. *The argument may peraduenture sooner finde some maligners, then iust reprouers. Wherein yet, as farre as the importance and necessity of the cause will suffer, I haue so warily tempered the sharpnesse of my penne, that I hope none of moderate humour himselfe, will iustly*

iuſtly charge me of being immoderate herein. But yet if any where I ſhall ſeeme otherwiſe; the diſcreete Reader will ſee, it is out of the inſtructions, Records, and Authors whom I follow, and not out of mine owne diſpoſition, who deſired as well herein, as in other of my courſes, rather to imitate my Maiſter in his milde and moderate carriage, then willingly to be offenſiue or diſpleaſing to any. Neither is it my purpoſe to haue the aſhes of the dead raked vp againe. But as no man can rightly commend a Commander, or skilfull Pilot, without relating their paſſed exploits, and dangerous ſtormes: So neither could I, without wronging my Reader, and the principall Subiect, commend him for ſo worthie and prudent a Gouernour, vnleſſe I had withall giuen a taſte of his aduentures, and the ſtormie time wherein he liued. And therefore I pray thee courteous Reader, both charitably and modeſtly to cenſure my trauell and paines herein.

THE

THE LIFE OF THE MOST REVEREND PRELATE IOHN WHITGIFT ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBVRIE.

1 A Wiſe, and excellent Hiſtorian ſaith; *It hath alwayes beene a matter of free libertie, and leaſt ſubiect to detraction, to ſpeake of thoſe, whom death hath exempted from hatred, or fauour.* A ſpeech that moued me to write (whileſt many other, better able, looke on) the life of the moſt Reuerend, and worthie Prelate IOHN WHITGIFT, Archbiſhop of Canterburie, to the end that poſteritie might take true notice of the worth of ſuch, as haue well guided the ſterne of this Church, and ſetled the peace thereof; and render vnto him, as vnto other men, the due honour, and commendation, which he hath deſerued.

Tacit. Annal. lib. 4.

2 He came of the ancient family of *Whitgift* of

Whitgift in Yorkshire. His grandfather *Iohn Whitgift* Gentleman, had many children: some whereof hee made Schollers, others he placed abroad in seuerall courses of life, disposing his Father *Henry Whitgift* to be a Merchant at great Grimsby in Lincolneshire. Where he married *Anne Dynewell*, a vertuous young woman, of good parentage in that Towne, of whom this our Archbishop came, and was there borne in the yeere of our Lord 1530. being the eldest of his Fathers sonnes, who were fiue in number, besides himselfe, *viz. William, George, Phillip, Richard, & Iefferie.*

He was borne *Anno* 1530.

He died in year 1603 having lived 73 years

3 He had an Vncle called *Robert Whitgift*, Abbot of the Monasterie of Wellow, in the County of Lincolne, neere Grimsby, who teaching diuers young Gentlemen, tooke like paines also with him. In which time (as he was pleased often to remember) he heard his Vncle the Abbot say, *that they, and their religion could not long continue, because (said he) I haue read the whole scripture ouer & ouer, and could neuer find therin that our religion was founded by God*: And for proofe of his opinion, the Abbot would alledge that saying of our Sauiour; *Omnis plantatio, quam non plantauit pater meus cæleſtis eradicabitur*; euery planting which my heauenly Father hath not planted, shall be rooted vp.

Matth. 15. 13.

4 His Vncle, finding an extraordinary towardlines in him, sent him afterwards to London, where hee became a scholler in S. *Anthonies* schoole, and boarded at his Aunts house in *Paules* Churchyard; shee being the wife of *Michaell Shaller*, a Verger of that Church.

Church. There hee eſcaped a great daunger, lying with another ſcholler, that had the plague, and comming in the Summer time hot and thirſtie from ſchoole, drunke his vrine out of a pot, or cruſe, ſtanding at his beds head in ſtead of drinke. And was not ſicke after it, though his bedfellow died.

5 From S^t. *Anthonies* Schoole hee repaired to Grimsby to his parents, being thruſt out of doores by his Aunt, becauſe he would not (as ſhee often required, and ſolicited him by the *Cannons of Paules*) goe with her to morrow Maſſe; imputing all her loſſes, and domeſtick misfortunes to her harbouring of ſuch an heretique within her doores; and, for a farewell, tolde him, *That ſhee thought at the firſt, ſhee had receiued a Saint into her houſe, but now ſhe perceiued he was a Diuell.*

6 His parents finding that he had much profited in his learning ſent him, by the aduiſe, and direction of his Vncle, the *Abbot*, to Cambridge, where he was firſt of Queenes Colledge; but liking not the education & diſpoſition of ſome there, went to Pembroke Hall; D. *Ridley* (afterward Biſhop of London) being there Maiſter, who hearing by M. *Bradford* his Tutour, of his great towardlineſſe & ſmall meanes (by reaſon of his Fathers loſſes at Sea) made him Scholler, and then M. *Gurth* became his Tutour; from thence hee was choſen Fellow of *Peterhouſe*, May 1555. D. *Pearne* being then Maiſter there.

7 Whilſt he was fellow of that houſe, he fell greeuouſly ſick, and was by commandement of D. *Pearne*

(who much tendred him in regard of his good parts) carried to an houſe neere the Colledge, whether D. *Pearne* came often to viſite him, and willed the woman of the houſe that hee ſhould want nothing; neither ſhould ſhee ſpare any coſt for his good, and the recouerie of his health, ſaying, that if he liued, he would be able to defray the charge himſelfe, but if he died the ſaid Doctor *Pearne* would ſatisfie her, and pay for all things.

8 When it pleaſed God to reſtore him to his former health, he determined to trauell beyond the ſeas, purpoſely to auoid certaine viſitours ſent in Queene *Maries* time to the Vniuerſitie, to eſtabliſh Poperie, and to enioyne the young Fellowes and Schollers to take *Primam touſuram*, being their firſt entrance into Popiſh orders.

9 D. *Pearne* hearing of this his purpoſe, talked with him, and found him, reſolute in his Religion, yeelding (as D. *Pearne* often acknowledged afterwards) many good and ſound reaſons therefore; whereupon the Doctour willed him to be ſilent, and not troubleſome in vttering his opinion, whereby others might take occaſion to call him in queſtion: and he for his part, would winke at him, and ſo order the matter, that he might continue his religion, and not trauaile out of the Vniuerſitie; which accordingly, the good olde man iuſtly performed. For which his fauour the Archbiſhop carried a louing, faithfull, and true heart towards him, vnto his dying day.

10 He

10 He Comenced Batchelar of Arts in the yeere 1553. Maister of Arts 1556. Batchelar of Diuinitie. 1562. Doctour of Diuinitie 1569. at which time he answered the Diuinitie Act publiquely in the Comencement, wherein he maintained this position *Papa est* ILLE *Antichristus.*

11 After hee was entered into the Ministerie (which was vpon the yeere 1560) being to preach his first publique Sermon in S. *Maries*, he chose for his Text that excellent saying of S^t. *Paul*; *I am not ashamed of the Gospell of Christ, &c.* wherein his singular method, choise of matter, and iudicious handling thereof, were such, that his whole Auditorie, especially the chiefe of the Vniuersitie, grew into great admiration of those great parts in so young yeeres. Rom. 1. 16.

12 From being Fellow of *Peterhouse*, he succeeded D. *Hutton*, late Archbishop of Yorke, in the Maistership of Pembroke-Hall; being then Chaplaine to D. *Cox*, Bishop of Elye, by whose meanes hee had a Prebend in Elye, and the Parsonage of Teuersam neere Cambridge.

13 He was also chosen Diuinitie Reader of the Lady *Margarets* Lecture, which he discharged with so great liking of the whole Vniuersitie, that for his sake they encreased the stipend from twentie markes to twentie pounds, and afterwards hee was made the Queenes publique professour of Diuinitie.

14 Whilst he read these two Lectures, the publique schooles were frequented with throngs of Studients in Diuinitie, young, and olde; such was his

diligence, great learning, and extraordinarie gifts ſhewed in the reading thereof; inſomuch as many of the preciſe faction were his daily Auditors, and the Lectures themſelues ſo highly accounted of (eſpecially thoſe, which he read vpon the *Apocalyps*, and the Epiſtle to the *Hebrewes*) that through the importunitie of diuers his honourable friends (then his pupils) and others of great learning, and iudgement, hee was perſwaded to ſet downe thoſe his Lectures in writing, which are like ſhortly for their excellencie and worth, to be publiſhed for the common benefit.

1567. 15 His ſingular, and extraordinarie gift in preaching, cauſed him, vpon the recommendation of Sir *Nicholas Bacon*, the then Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England, and Sir *William Cecill* principall Secretarie (afterwards Lord Treaſurer of England) to be ſent for to preach before her Maieſtie, who tooke ſo great liking of him, for his method, and matter, that, hearing his name to be *Whitgift*, ſhe ſaid he had a *white-gift* in deede. And as his gifts were then eſteemed *white*, ſo his *Fortune* afterwards proued *white*, and happy; his good name, and reputation *white*, and ſpotleſſe: ſo that it may be properly ſaid of him, that he was *gallinæ filius albæ*.

Hee was made Maiſter of Trinitie Colledge 4. Iuly 1567.

16 Her Maieſtie within foure moneths after that he was Maiſter of Pembroke-Hall, made him Maiſter of *Trinitie Colledge*, and cauſed him immediatly after, to be ſworne her *Chaplaine*.

17 In

17 IN the Colledge, at his first enterance, he found much diuision, (especially amongst such, as laboured innouation in the Church) being begun and headed in the gouernment of his predecessour Mr. D. *Beomont*. Yet did he in short time, wisely appease these stirres, and gouerned for fiue yeeres space, with great quietnesse both of the whole companie, and himselfe, vntill Maister *Thomas Cartwright* (a fellow of that Colledge) his last returne from beyond the Seas.

18 The first discontentment of the said Maister *Cartwright*, grew at a disputation in the Vniuersitie, before Queene *Elizabeth*, because Maister *Preston* (then of Kings Colledge, and afterward Maister of Trinitie Hall) for his comely gesture, and pleasing pronunciation, was both liked and rewarded by her Maiestie, and himselfe receiued neither reward, nor commendation; presuming of his owne good schollership, but wanting in deede that comely grace and behauiour, which the other had. This his no small griefe he vttered vnto diuers of his inward friends in Trinitie Colledge, who were also very much discontented, because the honour of the disputation did not redound vnto their Colledge.

19 Mr. *Cartwright*, immediatly after her Maiesties neglect of him, began to wade into diuers opinions, as that of the *Discipline*, and to kick against her Ecclesiasticall gouernment, he also then grew highly conceited of himselfe for learning, and holinesse, and

and a great contemner of others that were not of his minde. And although the learning and qualities of any were neuer ſo meane, yet if he affected maiſter *Cartwright* and his opinions, he ſhould be in great eſtimation with him, according to the ſaying of the Poet:

Præcipui ſunto, ſitq; illis aurea barba. But if hee were againſt him in his fancifull conceipts, though he were neuer ſo good a ſcholler, or ſo good a man, he could not brooke or like of him; as of D. *Whitaker*, and others; And although in their elections of ſchollers into that Colledge, they made as good choiſe as any other, either before, or in their time, yet could he neuer afford the Electors, nor parties elected, a good word, vnleſſe they ſided with him, in his fancies.

20 And that hee might the better feede his humour with theſe conceipted nouelties, hee trauailed to Geneua; where obſeruing the gouernment and diſcipline of that Church to be by certaine Eccleſiaſticall Superintendents, and lay Elders, or Presbyters (as they called them,) hee was ſo farre carried away with an affection of that new deuiſed diſcipline, as that he thought all Churches, and congregations, for gouernment Eccleſiaſticall, were to be meaſured, and ſquared by the practiſe of Geneua.

21 Therefore, when he returned home, he tooke many exceptions againſt the eſtabliſhed gouernment of our Church, diſalowing the vocation of our Archbiſhops, Biſhops, Archdeacons, and other Eccleſiaſticall Officers; the adminiſtration of our holy Sacraments.

craments, and obſeruation of our rites, and ceremonies; and buzzing theſe conceipts into the heads of diuers young Preachers and ſchollers of the Vniuerſitie, he drew after him a great number of Diſciples, and followers. And vpon a Sunday (Doctor *Whitgift* being from home) Maiſter *Cartwright* with ſome of his adherents, made three Sermons in that one day; wherein they ſo vehemently inueighed (amongſt other ceremonies of our Church) againſt the Surpleſſe, as thoſe of Trinitie Colledge were ſo moued therewith, that at Euening prayer, they caſt off their Surpleſſes (though againſt the ſtatutes of the houſe) and were all placed in the Chappell without Surpleſſes, three onely excepted. By reaſon of which ſtirres, both that priuate Colledge was greatly diſtracted, and the whole Vniuerſitie much perplexed, and troubled.

Doctor *Legge*. Mr. *Weſt*. The Chaplaine.

22 For theſe his opinions were now broached not onely at home in their Colledge Sermons, and domeſticall common places, but by maiſter *Cartwright* himſelfe, and his adherents, in the publique Church of the whole Vniuerſitie; wherein they mightily declamed againſt the ordination of our Prieſts, and Deacons, and greatly traduced the heads and gouernours of the Colledges, becauſe they attended the ſeruice of thoſe places. The Reuerend Biſhops, and Fathers of the Church, for their due obſeruing Eccleſiaſticall rules, and conſtitutions, were by them much perſtringed, the eſtabliſhed Church paralleing (as they termed it) the

Romiſh Hierarchie, was alſo much reproached and diſgraced.

23 D. *Whitgift*, after that Maiſter *Cartwright*, and his complices had broached this his dangerous doctrine, would alwayes the Sunday following in the ſame Church, anſwere and confute their opinions, with ſuch commendation, and applauſe, as thereby he much quieted and ſetled the iudgement of many, that otherwiſe were enclining to this innouation, and gained a ſingular opinion of the moſt learned and iudicious, throughout the whole Vniuerſitie.

24 When by this courſe he had ſomewhat appeaſed theſe ſtirres, Maiſter *Cartwright* did not yet ceaſe, but by ſecret inſtigations ſet on others, of his owne humour to continue them; who in their Colledge exerciſes (which they call Common places) and alſo in their open Sermons, would pricke at him with the ſwords of their tongues, and other-whiles vncharitably through the ſides of others pierce and wound him; ſometimes furiouſly without regard of dutie, ſhame, or modeſtie, would ſtrike downe-right at him. For it then was (and I pray God it ſtill be not) a thing too frequent with that generation to taxe their Superiours, and to accuſe their gouernment, as alſo to aſperſe them and it, with many vniuſt calumniations.

25 Notwithſtanding, ſo farre was hee from entering into any rigorous courſe of proceeding againſt them (as iuſtly he might haue done by the Statutes of the Colledge, and publique lawes of the ſtate) as

that

that with great ſufferance, he winked at and paſſed by many of theſe wrongs, and enormities, and inſtead of reuenge, he by gentleneſſe and goodneſſe heaped coales vpon the aduerſaries heads, as alſo for rough and vnſeemely ſpeeches, hee breathed nothing but ſweet breath of loue, and peace, often exhorting them to call to God for grace, that they might haue more ſober conſideration and better iudgement of orders eſtabliſhed, which then they miſtooke to be amiſſe. For (as a learned man truly ſaith of them) *thoſe feruent reprehenders of things eſtabliſhed by publique authoritie, are alwayes confident, and bolde ſpirited men: but their confidence, (for the moſt part riſeth from too much credit giuen to their owne wits; for which cauſe they are ſeldome free from errors.*

Hooker Eccleſ. policie. lib. 5.

26 The ſtate of the Vniuerſitie being in this ſort meruailouſly diſquieted by Maiſter *Cartwright*, and his abettours, Doctour *Whitgift* wiſely fore-ſaw that theſe ſparks of ſedition if in time they were not quenched, would grow to a great flame, to the endangering not onely of the Vniuerſitie, but of the whole Church (as euery one knoweth it afterward fell out) and therefore to cure this euill, if it might be, in the beginning, he oftentimes ſent to Maiſter *Cartwright*, and in friendly and kinde manner, aduiſed him to ſurceaſe from thoſe courſes: but finding him alwaies wilfully bent, and finally obſtinate; to preuent further miſchiefe, he with the Seniours of the houſe, called him in queſtion; and hauing ſufficient matter of expulſion againſt him, for vttering ſome errours

in his Lectures, and not recanting, nor expounding them; being by the Maister, and Seniours so appointed, and for exercising the function of a Minister, hauing no letters of Orders (which he had either torne, or suppressed, for that hee thought it not lawfull, by his owne doctrine to vse them) and for transgressing the statutes of the house in diuers other points, hee expelled him the house; and being Vice-chancellor, caused him likewise to be depriued of the Lady *Margarets* Lecture, which then he reade.

27 Before which course of proceeding with him, Doctor *Whitgift* (vnderstanding that Maister *Cartwright* had giuen it out, that his dangerous assertions were rather repressed by authoritie, then refelled by truth, and strength of reason) wished him to forbeare such disturbance of the publike peace of the Church, and often offered him to enter a quieter course for triall of the truth of his cause by conference, and writing; which he alwayes refused to accept, as may appeare by an Act recorded in the Registrie booke of the Vniuersitie of Cambridge, vnder the testimonie and superscription of the chiefe heads, bearing date the 18. of March, 1570. in these words.

WHereas it is reported that Maister Cartwright, *offering disputations and conference, touching the assertions vttered by him, and subscribed with his hand, and that he could not obtaine his request therin; This is to testifie, that in the presence of vs, whose names are here-vnder written,*

ten, and in our hearing, the said M. Cartwright *was offered conference of diuers, and namely of M. Doctor* Whitgift, *who offered, that if the said Maister* Cartwright *would set downe his assertions in writing, & his reasons vnto them, he would answer the same in writing also; The which Maister* Cartwright *refused to doe. Further, the said Doctour* Whitgift, *at such time as Maister* Cartwright *was deprived of his Lecture, did in our presence aske the said Maister* Cartwright, *whether he had both publiquely, and priuately diuers times offered the same conference vnto him by writing, or not. To which Maister* Cartwright *answered, that hee had beene so offered, and that hee refused the same. Moreouer, the said Maister* Cartwright *did neuer offer any disputation, but vpon these conditions; viz. that he might know who should be his aduersaries, and who should be his Iudges; meaning such Iudges as he himselfe could best like of. Neither was this kinde of disputation denied vnto him, but onely hee was required to obtaine licence of the Queenes Maiestie, or the counsell, because his assertions be repugnant to the state of the Common-wealth, which may not be called into question by publique disputation, without licence of the Prince, or her Hughnes Counsel.*

Iohn Whitgift. *Vice-Chancellour.*
Andrew Pearne. Iohn Mey.
Edward Hawford. William Chadderton.
Henry Haruie. Thomas Ithell.
Thomas Bing.

ET *ego* Matthæus Stokis *Sarum Dioces, in artibus Magiſter publicus authoritate legitima notarius, quia interfui depriuationi dicti* Cartwright *factæ vndecimo die Decembris, Anno* 1570. *eo tunc et ibidem audiui Doctorem* VVhitgift *interrogantem eum* Cartwright *de premiſſis allegatis et M.* Cartwright *eadem confitentem; Ideo, in fidem et teſtimonium premiſſorum, nomen meum requiſitus ſuperſcripſi, Anno Domini* 1570.

28 Not long after (at which time her Highneſſe had ſummoned a Parliament) ſome of principall note amongſt theſe Diſciplinarians, thought that the fitteſt time either to effect their deſires by ſome abettors in that high aſſembly, or at leaſt to diſperſe their opinions into all the parts of the Kingdome. To which end they then publiſhed a ſeditious Treatiſe, entituled, *An Admonition to the Parliament*; being in deede, the very ſummarie both of their opinions touching Church matters, and of their ſhameleſſe ſlanders againſt the gouernours thereof.

29 And albeit, Doctor *Whitgift* conſidered that this Libell was vnworthie any ſerious confutation, yet in regard of the great applauſe it found among the greene heads of the Vniuerſitie (who were greedie

greedie of nouelties) & to ſtop the current of ſo dangerous poſitions, he ſpared not his paines in writing a learned anſwere; therein laying open the weakeneſſe of that cauſe, and the ſtrength of their malice, who ſo hotly purſued the ſame; which being publiſhed vpon the yeare 1572. woone him no leſſe reputation with the learneder ſort, then the former had with the young and weaker braines, yea euen thoſe who had formerly thought the *Admonition* vnanſwerable, found the raſhneſſe of their cenſures by the ſoundneſſe of that refutation.

The admonition to the Parliament publiſhed. 1572.

30 Whereupon Maiſter *Cartwright*, notwithſtanding his former refuſall to enter into the liſt with Doctour *Whitgift* (as is afore-ſaid) ſeeing both the walles, and foundation of his new founded Church gouernment alreadie ſhaken, and tottering, endeauoured to vnderprop the ſame with a *Reply*. The weakeneſſe whereof Doctor *Whitgift* diſplayed in his *Defence of the anſwere to the Admonition, againſt the Reply*.

30 But Maiſter *Cartwright* (glorying belike to haue the laſt word) publiſhed a ſecond Reply, fraught with no other ſtuffe, then had beene before refuted, yet Doctour *Whitgift* addreſſing himſelfe to anſwere it, was by the aduiſe of ſome, (whoſe iudgements he much eſteemed,) diſſwaded from troubling himſelfe, in refuting that which he had alreadie ouerthrowne. Amongſt others vvho diſſwaded him, the learned Doctour *Whitakers* was one; againſt whoſe iudgement the aduerſarie can no way iuſtly except. His words

Mr. *Whitakers* Letters concerning Mr. *Cartwrights* reply. and his censure of him.

words in his Letter to Doctour *Whitgift* are these; *Quem* Cartwrightus *nuper emisit libellum eius magnam partem perlegi. Ne viuam, si quid vnquam viderim dissolutius, ac pene puerilius. Verborum satis ille quidem lautam, ac nouam supellectilem habet, rerum omnino nullam, quantum ego iudicare possum. Deinde, non modò peruersè de Principis in rebus sacris, atq; Ecclesiasticis auctoritate sentit, sed in Papistarum etiam castra transfugit, â quibus tamen videri vult odio capitali dissidere. Verum nec in hac causa ferendus, et alijs etiam in partibus tela a Papistis mutuatur. Deniq;, vt de* Ambrosio *dixit* Hieronimus, *verbis ludit, sententijs dormitat, et planè indignus est, qui à quopiam docto refutetur.* I haue read ouer (saith he) a great part of the book which M. *Cartwright* hath lately set forth; Let me not liue if I euer saw any thing more loose, and almost more childish. As for words, indeede he hath store of them, both trimme, and fresh enough; but as for matter he hath none at all; Besides this, he hath not onely peeuish assertions touching the Princes authoritie in matters sacred, and eccleſiasticall, but he also flatly reuolteth from vs to the campe of the Papists, from whom hee would seeme to flie with deadly hatred. And not in this cause onely is he vnsufferable, but in other points also he borroweth his weapons, and arguments from the Papists. And in a word as *Hierome* sometime said of *Ambrose*; he is in his words but a trifler, and for his matter but a dreamer, and altogether vnworthie to be refuted by any man of learning.

32 Maiſter *Cartwright* after theſe controuerſies thus begun, and continued by himſelfe, as you ſee, liued ſometimes beyond the Seas, now in one place, and then in another, without attayning any eminent or certaine place in the Common-wealth, ſaue onely the maiſterſhip of an Hoſpitall in Warwicke.

33 But Doctour *Whitgift* hauing continued Maiſter of Trinitie Colledge tenne yeeres, and being twice Vice-chancelour, was by her Maieſtie preferred alſo to the Denarie of Lincolne, which hee held for the ſpace of ſeauen yeeres; ſo long as he remained in Cambridge.

34 By his gouernment in Trinitie Colledge, hee made many excellent ſchollers, that came afterwards to great preferment in the Church, and Common-wealth, fiue whereof were in his time Biſhops, that then were fellowes of the Colledge when he was Maiſter, and ſome of them his pupils, beſides many Deanes, and others of dignitie, and eſtimation in the Church at this day.

Norwich, *Redman.* Worceſter, *Babbington.* S^t. Dauids, *Rud.* Gloceſter, *Golsborough.* Hereford, *Benet.*

35 He had diuers Earles and noble-mens ſonnes to his pupils, as namely the Earles of Worceſter, and Cumberland, the Lord *Zouch*, the Lord *Dunboy* of Ireland, S^r. *Nicholas*, and S^r. *Frauncis Bacon*, now his Maieſties Sollicitor generall, in whom hee tooke great comfort, as well for their ſingular towardlineſſe, as for their obſeruance of him, and performance of many good offices towards him. All which together with the reſt of the ſchollers of that houſe, he held to their publique diſputations, and exerciſes,

and prayers which he neuer missed, chiefly for deuotion, and withall to obserue others absence, alwaies seuerely punishing such omissions and negligences.

36 He vsually dined and supped in the common Hall, as well to haue a watchfull eye ouer the schollers, and to keepe them in a mannerly and awfull obedience, as by his example, to teach them to be contented with a scholler-like Colledge diet.

37 The sway and rule he then did beare through the whole Vniuersitie, the Records themselues will sufficiently testifie, for by his meere trauaile and labour, and the credit which he had with her Maiestie, and the Lord *Burghly*, then Lord Treasurer of England, and Chancelour of Cambridge, he procured an alteration, and amendment of the Statutes of the Vniuersitie. In which kinde of affaires, and businesse, all the heads of the houses were directed, and aduised by him, as from an Oracle; For commonly whatsoeuer he spake or did, they still concurred with him, and would doe nothing without him.

38 He neuer tooke the foile at any mans hands, during his tenne yeeres continuance in Trinitie Colledge; being therein not vnlike vnto *Pittacus* in his tenne yeeres gouernment of *Mitilene*, *Cui nunquam, per id tempus, contigit in aliquâ causâ, quam in se susciperet cadere.* For as the causes he dealt in, were alwayes iust, so his successe was euer prosperous, wherein his singular wisedome was to be noted, and his courage and stoutnesse, in his attempts were obserued of the greatest; and the generall fame thereof remai-

Diog. Laert. de vita Philosoph.

remaineth yet freſh in the Vniuerſitie, and will continue as his badge, and cognizance, ſo long as his memorie laſteth. And yet that ſtoutneſſe of his was ſo well tempered, and mingled with his other vertue of mildneſſe, and patience, that Maiſter *Hooker* made this true obſeruation of him, *Hee alwaies gouerned with that moderation, which vſeth by patience, to ſuppreſſe boldneſſe, and to make them conquer, that ſuffer*, which, I thinke, well ſuted with his poſey, or motto; VINCIT QVI PATITVR.

whitgift the ſtout.

In his Eccleſ. policie.

39 The firſt wound which thoſe feruent Reprehenders receiued at Doctor *Whitgifts* hands, and his prudent order of gouernment, together with his ſingular gift in preaching, made his fame ſpread, and gained him ſo great eſtimation, that her Maieſtie was pleaſed to make choiſe of him, before many others of eminent place in the Church, to be Biſhop of Worceſter. Vpon which his aduancement he firſt tooke his leaue of the whole Vniuerſitie, by a publique Sermon which hee preached in Saint *Maries* Church; wherein he exhorted them to peace. And afterwards by a priuate Sermon in Trinitie Colledge he gaue vnto that ſocietie, ſuch a godly and learned exhortation for their continuance, and conſtancie in peace, and vnitie, as it ſo moued their affections, that they burſt out into teares, in ſo much that there were ſcarſe any dry eyes to be found amongſt the whole number. Hee choſe for his Text the ſame farewell, which Saint *Paul* gaue to the Corinthians; *Finally brethren, fare yee well: be perfect, be of good comfort,*

Conſecrated Biſhop of Worceſter. 21. Aprill 1577.

2 Cor. 13. 11.

be of one minde, liue in peace, and the God of loue and peace shall be with you.

40 IN Iune following he was attended, and accompanied on his way from Cambridge towards Worcester, with a great troupe of the heads, and others of choise account in the Vniuersitie, and with exceeding lamentation, and sorrow of all sorts, for the losse they conceiued they had of so worthie a gouernour.

41 But their griefe for the losse of him was not so great, as was the ioy of them who had found him, amongst whom it pleased her Maiestie to grace his very first enterance both in forgiuing him his first fruits (a Princely and extraordinarie bountie) as also in bestowing on him (for the better encouragement and prouision of his Chaplaines, and other learned men about him) the disposing of all the Prebends of that Church of Worcester, during his continuance there.

42 He found the Bishoprick at his first comming much impaired by his Predecessours, granting away in long Leases, diuers Manours, Parks, and Mansion houses: But that which much troubled him, and wherein he most of all stirred, was the letting to Maister *Abington*, cofferer to the late Queene, the Rent corne of his two best Manours, *Hollow* and *Grimley*, which is the chiefe vpholding of the Bishops hospitality, and without which (especially in deere yeeres) he is not able to keepe house. This Lease being let

to

to Maiſter *Abington* (a great man then to contend withall; his wife alſo being ſometimes the Queenes bed-fellow) the Biſhop notwithſtanding did call it in queſtion; hauing now (beſides his Honorable friends, the Lord Keeper, and the Lord Treaſurer) gained by his attendance at Court many more about her Maieſtie, who much fauoured him, and profeſſed great loue vnto him; eſpecially the Earle of Leiceſter, Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, Vice-Chamberlaine, and Sir *Francis Walſingham*, principall Secretarie; all in ſpeciall grace with her Highneſſe. Maiſter *Abington* by his wifes greatneſſe, procured her Maieſties gracious Letters, written very earneſtly in his behalfe. The Biſhop returning anſwere vnto her Maieſtie, and enforming her by meanes of his honourable friends, how preiudiciall it was vnto the Biſhopricke, ſhee was thereupon much diſpleaſed with Maiſter *Abington*, and tooke part with the Biſhop; inſomuch as Maiſter *Abington* was willing to haue yeelded the ſaid Rent-Corne for the Biſhops owne time, ſo that his Leaſe might haue ſtill ſtood on foote againſt his Succeſſour, which the Biſhop vtterly refuſed, and in the end was rather contented, by way of compoſition (notwithſtanding that the Leaſe was voide, becauſe the Rent-Corne was neuer before let) to giue Maiſter *Abington* three hundred pounds out of his own purſe, to haue the Leaſe ſurrendred, and to redeeme the ſaid Corne; which yet remaineth, and I hope euer will, vnto his Succeſſour in that Sea.

43 Some haue accounted Worceſterſhire happy,

in hauing so kinde, and louing men to their Bishops, and others impute it to the good nature, and disposition of the people, that so loue and kindly vse their Bishops, that thereby (vnlesse they be too inflexible, and harsh) they cannot but in requitall of their loues entertaine them with reciprocall kindnesses. But howsoeuer it be, such was the mutuall loue betwixt this Bishop, and the Gentlemen there, that they delighted much to conuerse together, especially at Assises and Sessions, the Bishop would commonly reside at Worcester to giue the Iudges, and Iustices entertainment. There was no speeding of Commissions for seruice of the Country, nor any appointment for the Iustices meeting for such purposes, but euer the Bishops pleasure was first knowne for time, and place; and the rest of the Gentlemen accordingly attended him, he would oftentimes make appointment of meetings, either at his owne house, or some of theirs, for some commendable recreation, or exercises; whereby still to keepe the Gentlemen by their continuall repaire to each other in mutuall loue and concord.

44 If he had vnderstood of any iarre, or discord, he would send for both parties, vnawares to each other, vnder pretence of some seruice to be done, or some meeting appointed; and before their departure would make them friends. If he perceiued a frowardnesse in either of them, and that by entreatie they could not preuaile, then would hee leaue perswasion, and entreatie; and, as being Vice-President of the Marshes of Wales (which place her Maiestie shortly

ſhortly after hee was made Biſhop, beſtowed vpon him) threaten the obſtinate with impriſonment, or ſafe cuſtodie, till hee ſhould reforme himſelfe. Of which his reſolution when the Gentlemen of the chiefeſt ſway, and account, had experience, they then would grow calme, and ſubmit themſelues, and he as mildely, and gently did vſe them, when he ſaw them comming. One particular inſtance (among many) I will giue you, of Sir *Iohn Ruſſell*, and Sir *Henry Barkeley*; betwixt whom was ſo deadly a quarrell, as that great bloud-ſhed was like to haue enſued at a Seſſions in Worceſter, by reaſon of their many friends, and followers, had not the Biſhop wiſely preuented it, by prouiding a ſtrong watch at the gates, and about the Citie, and requiring them to bring both parties, with their attendants well guarded to his Palace, where he cauſed them all to the number of foure or fiue hundred, to deliuer their weapons into his owne ſeruants cuſtodie; and after two houres paines taken, ſometimes in perſwading, and otherwhiles in threatning them, hee made them ſo good friends, as they both attended him hand in hand to the Towne Hall, where they performed the ſeruice of their Country in amitie and loue, and euer after held him in great honour, and eſtimation therefore. Wherein he was much happier then *Bias*, who reporteth of himſelfe, that *He neuer arbitrated any controuerſie betweene two of his friends, but he made one of them his enemies.*

Diog. Laert. de vita Philoſoph. lib. 1.

45 A yeere after his conſecration to that Biſhop-

ricke,

ricke, hee was (as before is mentioned) made Vice-president of the Marches of Wales, (Sir *Henry Sidney*, his very honourable friend, being then Lord President, and at that time, Lord Deputie of Ireland) where albeit the Bishop might immediatly haue taken vpon him, according to his place, to direct the Court, hauing an excellent quicke vnderstanding, a good facilitie in speech, and a deepe, and sound iudgement, gained by his long experience in gouernment in Cambridge, and else-where, where his sufficiencie and patience were tried to the proofe; yet notwithstanding it was a whole yeere before he would almost speake in the publique affaires, much lesse take vpon him to beare any sway, but still obserued the orders and practise of the Court, and looked into the affections and dispositions of his associates; hearing the complaints of the suppliants, & enforming himselfe by others of integritie, and honestie, and sometimes noting their partiall orders, and corrupt dealings; but at the yeeres end, he then tooke vpon him the directing and ordering of things himselfe, taking exceeding paines from morning till bed time, affording himselfe onely some small times for meales and studie.

46 And when hee had found the corruption of some of his associates, as well by his owne obseruation, as by the confession of the parties that corrupted them (for the propertie of some amongst them, was to leaue nothing vnassayed to corrupt any man to serue their owne turne for the present, though they

they euer after hated him to the death, and would reuile him) he would dismisse these associates by sending for others vnder pretence of ease to the parties.

47 He had also a speciall care (as behoued him) of his owne familie, and attendants neere vnto him, and therefore to auoid all colour & suspition of corruption, hee would neuer heare any cause or informations, or receiue petition in his priuate Chamber, but abroad, by the Petitioners themselues, either in going to the Chappell, Court, dinner, supper, or at the Counsell-bourd; in so much as a Gentleman of his bed-chamber (imployed sometimes by him) making request vnto him that hee might haue the deliuerie of suiters Petitions, and indorse their answeres, he grew into such dislike of the young Gentleman (as supposing he had beene tampered withall) that he presently discharged him of his Chamber, and could neuer afterwards very well brooke him.

48 For this his integritie and iust dealing, the people of Wales especially had a very reuerend, and honourable opinion of him, the rather because they obserued in him a temperate and milde gouernment, without reuiling or harsh speeches; and oftentimes moderating their fines and punishments, which in strictnesse of law, and opinion of his associates, would haue lighted heauily vpon them; for which they highly esteemed him as their Patrone and Protector, and said hee was sent amongst them to deliuer them from the oppression of the mightie, and corruption of the wicked, yea such was their

opinion and conceit of him, that if hee had impriſoned, whipped, or inflicted any other greeuous puniſhment vpon them, they would haue vnder-gone it with patience, confeſſing their offences, and lauding his vprightneſſe and iuſtice.

49 Her Maieſtie out of her experience of his wiſe and prudent gouernment, was pleaſed (vpon complaint made vnto her, of the many diſcords and diſorders that were in the two Cathedrall Churches of Lichfield and Hereford) to make choiſe of him alone, amongſt a number of worthie Prelates, for redreſſe thereof; directing two Commiſſions vnto him for the viſiting of the ſaid Churches, which accordingly he did, and reformed them both (being very farre out of order) and ordained them Statutes for their better, and more peaceable gouernment afterwards.

50 Theſe his courſes thus helde for his gouernment, and reforming both of Church and people, gained him ſo generall an opinion, and liking in the life time, and diſgrace, of Archbiſhop *Grindall*, that her Maieſtie deſigned him Archbiſhop of Canterburie, as was ſignified vnto him, and earneſtly wiſhed by ſome of his honorable friends about the Queene, and alſo by Archbiſhop *Grindall* himſelfe much deſired, who, out of the great eſtimation hee had conceiued of his gouernment, and other his many vertues, and worthie parts, and by reaſon of his owne yeares, and infirmitie, laboured him in like earneſt manner, preſently to accept thereof, being himſelfe well

well contented to ſhake off thoſe cares, and receiue from her Maieſtie ſome yearely penſion, which Biſhop *Whitgift* vtterly refuſed, and in preſence of the Queene her ſelfe, beſought pardon in not accepting thereof, vpon any condition whatſoeuer in the life time of the other. Whereupon the Queene commiſerating the good olde mans eſtate (being a graue and learned Father of the Church; and at that time blinde with yeeres and griefe) was graciouſly pleaſed to ſay, that as ſhe had made him an Archbiſhop, ſo he ſhould die an Archbiſhop, as hee did ſhortly after.

51 Vpon whoſe deceaſe, Biſhop *Whitgift* receiuing Letters from a great Counſellour, for his repaire vnto the Court, and the ſpeech thereof, together with the report of Archbiſhop *Grindalls* death being ſpread abroad, you would haue wondred to haue ſeene the repaire, & flocking of Gentlemen and others, vnto him, both out of Worceſterſhire, and the Marches of Wales, not to congratulate his aduancement (which they vpon ſuch his preparation to the Court, coniectured was to follow) but to expreſſe their true loue, and hartie affection towards him, and to beſeech him not to depart from thence; and ſo with teares and ſobs tooke their leaue of him, as kinde natured children vſe to part from their Parents, whoſe face they are out of hope euer to ſee againe. *Plutarch* obſerueth, that it *falleth out verie ſeldome with Magiſtrates, and thoſe who are in auctheritie, that they ſhould pleaſe the multitude, or be ac-*

ceptable to the common people, because they, striuing still to reforme the disordered, doe grieue them as much as Surgions doe their Patients, when they binde vp their aches with bands to cure them. For though by that binding they restore and bring to their naturall places againe the broken bones, and members out of ioynt, yet put they the Patient to great paine: But this Bishop was not so boysterous a Surgeon, for he had learned the Art of curing the diseases of a Common-wealth, from a more skilfull Surgeon, euen from him that taught, that as wine was to be powred into the wound to search, so oyle was also necessarie to supple, but both expedient for the cure. And therefore as he alwayes resolutely endeauoured the redresse of the ill affected, so with an excellent temper of rare mildenesse, hee euer effected it without exasperation of those, whose good he was desirous to procure. For which singular mixture of two so requisite vertues in a Magistrate, he was most worthily, and most happily, both for the Church and Common-wealth, aduanced from the Bishopricke of Worcester, to the Archbishopricke of Canterburie. 24. Septemb. 1583.

Translated to the Archbishopricke of Canterburie. Septemb. 24. 1583.

52 AT his first entrance hee found the Archbishopricke surcharged in the valuation, and procured an order out of the Exchequer, for the abatement of one hundred pounds, for him, and his successours, in the payment of his first fruits: He also, shortly after recouered from the Queene, as part of the possessions of the Archbishoprick, long Beach-

wood

wood in Kent, contayning aboue a thousand acres of land, which had beene many yeeres detained from his predeceſſor, by Sir *Iames Croft*, then Comptroller of her Maieſties he[illegible]hold, farmer thereof to her Maieſtie. In letting Leaſes of his impropriations, if hee found the Curates wages but ſmall, hee would abate much of his fine to encreaſe their penſions, ſome ten pounds by the yeere, ſome more, ſome leſſe, as at Folkſtone, Maidſtone, and others.

53 But to leaue theſe particular affaires, and to come to thoſe publique imployments, for which hee was ſpecially made Archbiſhop; Her Maieſtie fearing the danger that might enſue by the aſſembly of diuers Miniſters to exerciſes, and prophecying, (as they tearmed it) ſtraightly charged him to be vigilant, and carefull for the reducing of them, and all other Miniſters by their ſubſcription & conformitie, to the ſetled orders, and gouernment; adding that ſhe would haue the diſcipline of the Church of England formerly eſtabliſhed, of all men duly to be obſerued, without alteration of the leaſt ceremony, conceiuing belike, that theſe Noueliſts might haue wrought the ſame miſchiefe here, which the turbulent Orators of Lacedemonia, did in that Common-wealth, ſo wiſely ſetled by *Lycurgus* his Lawes; which whileſt they tooke vpon them to amend, they miſerably defaced, and deformed. The inconuenience of which kinde of reforming that prudent and iudicious Queene, had learned out of the Poet *Aratus*, his anſwere to one, who asked him, *how hee might*

Diog. Laert. de vita Philoſoph. lib. 90.

haue Homers *Poems free from corruptions, and faults; get* (ſaith he) *an olde copie not reformed: for curious wits labouring to amend things well done, commonly either quite marre them, or at leaſt make them worſe.*

54 The Archbiſhop endeauouring to performe this her Maieſties commandement, had notwithſtanding much adoe, and many conflicts with them. For they had gotten ſuch ſtrength by his predeceſſours conniuencie, that many of them were then planted both within his Prouince, and particular Dioceſſe: in whoſe fauour ſundry Gentlemen of the chiefeſt account there came to entreate the Archbiſhop, and ſome of the younger ſort, would needes argue and diſpute matters in controuerſie on their behalfe. But he gaue ſo good ſatisfaction vnto them all by his milde and temperate anſweres (albeit hee yeelded not vnto their requeſts) that they loued him after; ſome of the chiefeſt of them preferring their ſonnes vnto him, and the reſt performing many kinde offices and ſeruices towards him.

Decem. 1584. 55 The next yeere following, for farther ſatisfaction of ſome of the greateſt, and moſt honourable Counſellours of State, in theſe points, the two Archbiſhops, and the Biſhop of Wincheſter were pleaſed to heare the reaſons of ſome Miniſters that refuſed to conforme themſelues vnto the orders of the Church eſtabliſhed. At which time albeit the ſaid learned Prelates ſufficiently cleared all their doubts, and exceptions; yet after this, theſe honourable perſonages affying much in the ſufficiencie & ſcholler-

ſhip

ſhip of ſome others, not yet dealt withall, and ſuppoſing that they had beene able to haue ſaid much more in defence of themſelues, and the impeaching of the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment eſtabliſhed (for ſo they were borne in hand) were deſirous to heare at Lambehith the controuerſies further debated on both ſides. Whereunto the Archbiſhop, for their ſatisfaction yeelded; and after foure houres conference ſpent, theſe honourable Perſonages profeſſed that they would not haue beleeued that the Archbiſhops grounds and reaſons had beene ſo good and ſtrong, and the others ſo weake and triuiall, but that they heard them once and againe with their owne eares; and ſo, they ſaid they would informe her Maieſtie: ſeeming to be there well reſolued, and alſo perſwaded the Miniſters to conformitie.

56 Howbeit afterwards, when thoſe Honorable Perſonages ſaw that they might not ſway (as formerlie in the reſtraint of Archbiſhop *Grindall*) and prefer, whom they liſted vnto eccleſiaſtical promotions: they with ſome others linked themſelues againſt the Archbiſhop, and gaue him (being yet no Counſellor of State) many thwarts at the Counſell-bourd, wherewith he was ſo much perplexed and greieued to ſee things thus carried, as thereupon aduiſing with ſome of his Honorable friends (whoſe aſſiſtance hee knew might auaile him) if their affections were not otherwiſe ouerſwayed by the potencie of ſo great perſonages, he thus imparted his minde in ſeuerall letters, as followeth.

God

God knoweth how desirous I haue beene, from time to time, to haue my doings approued by my ancient and honorable friends. For which cause, since my comming to this place, I haue done nothing of importance against these Sectaries, without good aduise. I haue risen vp early, and sate vp late, to yeeld reasons and make answere to their contentions and their seditious obiections. And shall I now say, I haue lost my labour? Or shall my iust dealing with disobedient and irregular persons, cause my former professed and ancient friends, to hinder my iust proceedings, and make them speake of my doings, yea and of my selfe, what they list? Salomon *saith, that an old friend is better then a new. I trust those that loue me indeed will not so lightly cast off their old friends for any of these new fangled and factious Sectaries, whose fruits, are to make diuision and to separate old, and assured friends. In mine owne priuate affaires I know I shall stand in need of friends, but, in these publique actions, I see no cause why I should seeke friends, seeing they, to whom the care of the common-wealth is committed, ought, of duty, therein to ioyne with me. And if my honorable friends should forsake me (especially in so good a cause) and not put their helping hand to the redresse of these enormities (being indeed, a matter of State, & not of the least moment) I shall thinke my comming vnto this place to haue beene for my punishment, and my hap very hard, that, when I thinke to deserue best and, in a manner, consume my selfe to*

satisfie

ſatisfie that, which God, hir Maieſtie, and the Church requireth of mee, I ſhould be euilly rewarded. Sed meliora ſpero. *It is obiected by ſome that my deſire of Vniformitie, by way of Subſcription, is for the better maintenance of my Booke. They are mine enimies that ſay ſo: but I truſt my friends haue a better opinion of mee. Why ſhould I ſeeke for any confirmation of my Booke after twelue yeeres approbation? or what ſhal I get thereby more then already I haue? And yet, if Subſcription may confirme it, it is confirmed long agoe by the Subſcription almoſt of all the cleargie of England before my time. Mine enimies likewiſe, and the ſlanderous tongues of this vncharitable Sect, report that I am reuolted, become a papiſt, and I know not what. But it proceedeth from their lewdneſſe, and not from any deſert of mine. I am further burthened with wilfulnes; I hope my friends are better perſwaded of me to whoſe conſciences I appeale. It is ſtrange that a man of my place, dealing by ſo good warrant, as I doe, ſhould be ſo encountred, and, for not yeelding, be counted wilfull. But I muſt be content:* Vincit qui patitur. *There is a difference betwixt Wilfulneſſe and Conſtancie. I haue taken vpon me, by the place which I hold vnder hir Maieſtie, the defence of the Religion, and the Rites of the Church of England, to appeaſe the Schiſmes and Sects therein, to reduce all the Miniſters thereof to vniformitie and to due obedience, and not to wauer with euery winde: which alſo my place, my perſon, my duty, the lawes, hir Maieſtie, and the goodneſſe of the cauſe doe require*

of me, and wherein the Lords of her highneſſe moſt honorable priuie Counſel (all things conſidered) ought in dutie, to aſſiſt, and countenance me. But how is it poſſible that I ſhould performe the charge, which I haue vndertaken, after ſo long libertie, and lacke of diſcipline, if a few perſons, ſo meanely qualified (as moſt of theſe factious Sectaries are) ſhould be countenanced againſt the whole State of the Cleargie of greateſt account both for learning, yeeres, ſtaydneſſe, wiſdome, religion, and honeſty, and open breakers and impugners of the law, young in yeeres, proud in conceipt, contentious in diſpoſition, ſhould be maintained againſt their gouernours, ſeeking to reduce them to order and to obedience? Hæc ſunt initia Hæreticorum, et ortus, atq; conatus Schiſmaticorum male cogitantium, vt ſibi placeant vt præpoſitum ſuperbo tumore contemnant. Sic de Eccleſia recedi-tur, ſic altare profanum foris collocatur, ſic contra pacem Chriſti, et ordinationem, atq; vnitatem Dei rebellatur. *The firſt fruits of Heretiques, and the firſt births and endeauours of Schiſmatiques are theſe, to admire themſelues, and in their ſwelling pride to contemne any that are ſet ouer them. Thus doe men fall from the Church of God, thus is a forraine vnhallowed Altar erected, and thus is Chriſts peace, and Gods ordination and vnitie, rebelled againſt. For mine owne part I neither haue done, nor doe any thing in theſe matters, which I doe not thinke my ſelfe in conſcience and dutie bound to doe, and which her Maieſtie hath not with earneſt charge com-*

committed vnto me, and which I am not well able to iuſtifie to be moſt requiſite for this Church and State; whereof, next to her Maieſtie (though moſt vnworthie, or at the leaſt moſt vnhappie) the chiefe care is committed vnto me, which I will not by the grace of God neglect, whatſoeuer come vpon me therefore. Neither may I endure their notorious contempts, vnleſſe I will become Aeſops *block, and vndoe all that, which hitherto hath been done. And how then ſhall I be able to performe my dutie, according to her Maieſties expectation? It is certaine, that if way be giuen vnto them, vpon their vniuſt ſurmiſes and clamours, it will be the cauſe of that confuſion, which hereafter, the State will be ſorie for. I neither care for the honor of this place I hold (which is* Onus *vnto me) nor the largeneſſe of the reuenew, neither any worldly thing (I thanke God) in reſpect of doing my dutie, neither doe I feare the diſpleaſure of man, nor the euill tongue of the vncharitable, who call me Tyrant, Pope, Knaue, and lay to my charge things that I neuer did, nor thought.* Scio enim hoc eſſe opus Diaboli, vt ſeruos Dei mendacijs laceret, et opinionibus falſis, glorioſum nomen infamet, vt qui conſcientiæ ſuæ luce clareſcunt, alienis rumoribus ſordidentur. *For I know that this is the worke of that accuſer, the Diuell, that he may teare in pieces the ſeruants of God with lies, that he may diſhonour their glorious name, with falſe ſurmiſes, that they, who through the clearenesſe of their owne conſcience, are ſhining bright, might haue the filth*

of other mens ſlanders caſt vpon them. So was Cyprian *himſelfe vſed, and other godly Biſhops, to whom I am not comparable. But that which moſt of all grieueth me, and is to be wondred at and lamented, is, that ſome of thoſe, which giue countenance to theſe men, and crie out for a learned Miniſtrie, ſhould watch their opportunitie, and be inſtruments and meanes to place moſt vnlearned men in the chiefeſt places & liuings of the Miniſtrie, thereby to make the ſtate of the Biſhops, and Cleargie, contemptible, and I feare ſalable. This hipocriſie and diſſembling with God and man (in pretending one thing, and doing another) goeth to my heart, and maketh me to thinke that Gods iudgements are not far off. The day will come, when all mens hearts ſhall be opened. In the meane time I will depend vpon him, who neuer faileth thoſe, that put their truſt in him.* Thus farre his Letters.

57 After this, he lincked himſelfe in a firme league of friendſhip with Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*; then Vice-chamberlaine to the Queenes Maieſtie, and by the meanes of Doctor *Bancroft* (his then houſhold Chaplaine, and late Lord Archbiſhop of Canterburie) had him moſt firme, and readie vpon all occaſions, to impart vnto the Queene, as well the croſſes offered him at the Counſell Table, as alſo ſundrie impediments wherby he was hindered, from the performance of many good ſeruices towards her Maieſtie and the State. He had alwaies the Lord *Burghley* (then Lord Treaſurer of England) his firme and conſtant

ſtant friend, and one that would omit no opportunitie for his aduancement, who preuailed ſo farre, that when the Earle of Leiceſter (one of thoſe honourable perſonages afore-mentioned) was in the low Countries, the Archbiſhop, and the Lord *Cobham* were firſt ſworne Counſellours of State, and *Thomas* Lord *Buckhurſt* was ſworne the day after, whereat the Earle was not a little diſpleaſed. The Lord *Backhurſt* was ioyned in like affection to the Archbiſhop as the other two were, and continued after he came to be Lord Treaſurer, his faithfull and louing friend, to the time of his death.

58 When the Archbiſhop was thus eſtabliſhed in friendſhip with theſe noble perſonages, as afore-ſaid, their fauours and his place, wrought him free acceſſe to the Queene, and gracious acceptance of his motions in the Churches behalfe. His courſes then at the Counſell-bourd were not ſo much croſſed, nor impeached as heretofore; but by reaſon of his daily attendance & acceſſe, he then oftentimes gaue impediment to the Earles deſignments in Clergie cauſes.

59 About this time, Sir *Thomas Bromeley* (the then Lord Chancellour) died; whereupon it pleaſed her Maieſtie to diſcouer her gracious inclination, to haue made the Archbiſhop Lord Chancellour of England. But hee excuſing himſelfe in many reſpects, that he was growne into yeeres, and had the burthen of all Eccleſiaſticall buſineſſes laid vpon his backe (which was, as much as one man could well vndergoe, conſidering the troubles with ſo many

Sir *Thomas Bromeley* Lord Chancellor died 12. April, 1587.

sectaries, that were then sprung vp) desired to be spared, and besought her Highnesse to make choise of Sir *Christopher Hatton*, who shortly after was made Lord Chancellor in the Archbishops house at Croydon, thereby the rather to grace the Archbishop. His aduancement did much strengthen the Archbishop and his friends, and with all the Earle of Leicester and his designments, came soone after to an end. For, the yeere following, taking his iourney to Kenelworth, he died in the way at Cornburie Parke, whereby the Archbishop tooke himselfe freed from much opposition.

Sir *Christopher Hatton* made Lord Chancelor, April 29. 1587.

The Earle of Leicester died Sept. 4. 1588.

60 Vpon the death of the said Earle, the Chauncellorship of Oxford being voide, diuers of the heads and others of the Vniuersitie made knowne vnto the Archbishop their desire to chuse him their Chauncellor, although he was a Cambridge man. To whom he returned this answere, that hee was alreadie their friend, whereof they might rest assured; and therefore aduised them to make choise of some other in neere place about the Queene, that might assist him on their behalfe: and both at the Counsell-bourd, and other places of iustice, right them many wayes, both for the benefit of the Vniuersitie & their particular Colledges. And there-withall recommended vnto them Sir *Christopher Hatton*, being sometime of that Vniuersitie; whom accordingly, they did choose for their Chauncellor, and whom the Archbishop euer found a great assistant in bridling and reforming the intemperate humour of these Noue-

Noueliſts, who by the countenance of the afore-ſaid great perſonages, were now growne to a ſtrong head.

61 For, in the yeere 1588. came forth thoſe hatefull Libels of *Martin Marprelate*, and much about the ſame time, the *Epitome*, the *Demoſtration* of *Diſcipline*, the *Supplication*, *Diotrephes*, the *Minerals*, *Haue you any worke for a Couper*, *Martin iunior*, alias *Theſes Martinianæ*, *Martin ſenior*, *More worke for the Couper*, and other ſuch like baſtardly Pamphlets, which might well be *Nullius filij*, becauſe no man durſt father their births. All which were printed with a kinde of wandring Preſſe, which was firſt ſet vp at Moulſey, neere Kingſton vpon Thames, and from thence, conueyed to Fauſly in Northamptonſhire, & from thence to Norton, afterwards to Couentrie, from thence to Welſtone in Warwickſhire, from which place the Letters were ſent to another Preſſe in or neere Mancheſter, where (by the means of *Henry* that good Earle of Darby) the Preſſe was diſcouered in printing of *More worke for a Couper*. Which ſhameleſſe Libels were fraughted onely with [illegible] and ſcurrilous calumniations againſt the eſtabliſhed gouernment, and ſuch reuerend Prelates, as deſerued honour with vprighter iudgements.

Martin Marprelate & other Libels publiſhed, 1588.

62 Some of the Printers, whileſt they were buſied, about the laſt Libell, were apprehended; who, with the entertainers, and receauers of the Preſſe, were proceeded againſt in the Star-chamber, and there cenſured; but vpon their ſubmiſſion (at the humble ſuite of the Archbiſhop) were both deliuered out

out of prison, and eased of their fines. The Authors and penners of some of these Libels were, *Iohn Penry* and *Iohn Vdall*, the chiefe dispenser of them was *Humphrey Newman*, a Cobler, a choise Broker for such sowterly wares, and in regard of his hempenly trade, a fit person to cherish vp *Martins birds*, *who* (as *Plinie* writeth) *doe feede so greedily vpon hemp-seede, that they be oftentimes choaked therewith.* Such was the infortunate end of some of his *Martin birds*, as appeareth vpon record in the Kings Bench, against *Iohn Penry* Clearke, *Termino Pasch.* 1593. and at an Assise in Surrey against *Iohn Vdall*, whose pardon the Archbishop afterwards obtained.

Iohn Penry condemned, 1593.

63 Thus the factious Ministers, zealous of pretended discipline, hauing with these seditious Libels (as the fore-rangers and harbingers of their further designes) made way in the hearts of the vulgar (who euer are apt to entertaine nouelties, though it be with danger and detriment to themselues; and specially if it haue a shew of restraining the authoritie of their superiours) they thought it the fittest time to prosecute their proiects. And while one sort of them were maliciously busied in slandering the state of the Church alreadie setled, the other were as seditiously imployed in planting the discipline, which they had newly plotted. Whereupon shortly after *Thomas Cartwright*, and *Edmund Snape*, with others, were called in question, and proceeded withall in the Starchamber, for setting forth, and putting in practise (without warrant or authoritie) a new forme of Common

Thomas Cartwright (with others) proceeded with in the Star-chamber, for their Conuenticles, 1591.

Common Prayer, and administration of the Sacraments and Presbiteriall discipline. The particularities of which their dangerous plots, and positions, (though most secretly carried, amongst men onely of their owne combination)were by Doctor *Bancroft* first discouered, and by the Archbishop, and the Lord Chancellor farther brought to light, as the Records themselues in the Star-chamber doe testifie, and may at large appeare in Doctor *Bancrofts Survey of the pretended Discipline: and dangerous Positions vnder pretence of Reformation:* wherein also you shall see these Disciplinarians to exceede other Ministers, from whom they haue their Presbiteriall platforme, in threatning, railing, and vndutifull speeches, against their Soueraigne, the high Court of Parliament, the most Honourable Priuie Councell, the Archbishops and Bishops, the reuerend Iudges of the land, and Lawyers of both professions: and generally against all Magistrates, and other inferiour Ministers of Iustice, and Officers vnder them, that doe maintaine the present gouernment of the Church of England, and withstand their desire.

64 It was therefore high time for the Archbishop and State to looke strictly to these perturbers of our Churches happie quiet. But if wee shall take a further view of those enormious, and desperate courses, which after ensued (though all branches, growing out of the same roote) wee shall be farre from accusing either the Archbishop of too much vigilancie, or the ciuill Magistrates of ouer-

much ſeueritie in cutting off ſome of thoſe outragious, and vnbridled Sectaries.

Coppinger and *Arthington* their preaching in a Cart in Cheapeſide 16. Iulij 1591.

65 Three principall there were among them, deepely infatuated with this reforming ſpirit; *William Hacket*, Yeoman; *Edmund Coppinger*, and *Henry Arthington*, Gentlemen; all of them ſtrongly poſſeſſed, at the firſt, with an earneſt deſire of the late inuented diſcipline, and carried violently, with the ſtrength of their erronious fancy, into a deſperate and lamentable courſe; whereof though I will ſuppoſe that many are innocent, who were led with the ſame ſpirit and deſire of reformation with them in the beginning; yet I am induced by iuſt and waightie reaſons, to conceiue, that, vnleſſe the vigilancie of the Magiſtrates had timely preuented their courſes, the intemperate zeale of theſe Noueliſts, finding no certaine ground to ſtay it ſelfe vpon, nor any determinate end, where it might finally reſt, would haue broken out into ſome like combuſtion, and flame, as theſe aforenamed did, whereof I will giue you but a litle taſte. Two of theſe, *Edmund Coppinger* and *Henry Arthington*, came into Cheapſide, and there in a Cart proclaimed newes from heauen, to wit, *That one* William Hacket *Yeoman, repreſented Chriſt, by partaking his glorious body in his principall ſpirit, and that they were two Prophets, the one of Mercie, the other of Iudgement, called and ſent of God to aſſiſt him in his great worke, &c.* But becauſe the waight of the matter requireth a larger diſcourſe, then is fit to be inſerted in this worke, I referre the Reader for the reſt, vnto the peruſall of Doctor *Coſin* his

his Booke, intituled, *Conſpiracy for pretended Reformation:* where he ſhall finde their purpoſes, plottes, and deſignements, with many other markable things at large diſcourſed, and taken truly out of their conference, and writings vnder their owne hands, with their confeſſions, and examinations, ſubſcribed by themſelues, before ſundry honorable and worſhipfull perſonages, of great grauitie and wiſdome, emploied in thoſe affaires. By all which, together with their temperate, direct, and pertinent ſpeech, and congruitie of phraſe and matter, both before, and after their apprehenſion, it will cleerelie appeare, that the ſaid conſpirators were not mad-men (vnleſſe it be a kinde of madneſſe to be a violent proſecutor of this reformation; as indeed it is) howſoeuer ſome of that fraternitie, and ſect, haue ſo giuen it out: chooſing thereby rather to accuſe the honorable iuſtice of the Realme, and all the miniſters thereof, then that any, profeſſing deſire of pretended reformation ſhould be noted with deepe diſloyaltie, as they were charged withall.

Conſpiracie for pretended reformation.

66 When the Queene and State ſaw the incredible height of theſe audacious attempts, ſo dangerous to the Common-wealth, thus knotted and countenanced vnder pretenſe of reforming the Church, they found it neceſſary to ſtop the fountaines of theſe proceedings; leaſt it might grow to the like outrage. Amongſt whom there were very forward to the like preſumption *Henry Barrow* Gentleman, and *Iohn Greenwood* Clearke, who were conuented before the

high Commiſſioners for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, in Nouember 1587. for their Schiſmaticall and ſeditious opinions, *viz.* That our Church is no Church, or at the leaſt, no true Church; yeelding theſe reaſons therefore. Firſt, that the worſhip of the Engliſh Church is flat Idolatrie. Secondly, that we admit into our Church, perſons vnſanctified. Thirdly, that our Preachers haue no lawfull calling. Fourthly, that our gouernment is vngodly. Fiftly, that no Biſhop or Preacher, preacheth Chriſt ſincerely, and truely. Sixtly, that the people of euery Pariſh ought to chooſe their Biſhop, and that euery Elder, though hee be no Doctor, nor Paſtor, is a Biſhop. Seauenthly, that all the preciſe, which refuſe the ceremonies of the Church, and yet preach in the ſame Church, ſtraine a Gnat and ſwallow a Cammell, and are cloſe hypocrites, and walke in a left-handed policie; as Maiſter *Cartwright*, *Wiggington*, &c. Alſo in Norwich, Maiſter *Moare*, *Pawmone*, and *Burges*, that all which make Catechiſmes, or teach and expound printed and written Catechiſmes, are Idoll Shepheards; as *Caluin*, *Vrſin*, *Nowell*, &c. that the childe of vngodly Parents ought not to be baptized, as of Vſurers, Drunkards, &c. nor any Baſtards: that ſet Prayer is blaſphemous.

Barrow and *Greenwood* their Poſitions.

67 The fore-ſaid brochers of theſe opinions at this their firſt conuention, made ſhew of their conformitie, vpon conference with ſome Deuines; and in hope thereof, were enlarged vpon bonds; but all in vaine. For after their libertie, they burſt forth into

into further extremities, and were againe committed to the Fleete; Iuly 20. 1588. where they publiſhed their ſcandalous and ſeditious writings; for which they were proceeded with all at Iuſtice-Hall, neere Newgate in London. March 21. 1592.

68 For ſuppreſſing this kinde of people (which as you ſee were growne vnto a great height of violence, and outrage) the State held it fit at the next Parliament following, to make a law of abiuration, or baniſhment, of ſuch as ſhould either perſwade others, or be preſent themſelues at theſe their conuenticles, or meetings, which law is entituled: *An Act to reſtraine the Queenes Maieſties ſubiects in their due obedience.*

An Act of Parliament againſt Schiſmaticks.

69 LEt the Reader now conſider with what contagion, and leproſie, many poore ſoules had like to haue beene infected through the diuulging of their wicked Libels, and dangerous poſitions, tending to innouation and rebellion, had not the ſtroake of iuſtice, and prouidence of the State, wiſely preuented the ſame, ſelecting as out of an hundred thouſand ſeditious mutiners (for, ſo many they confeſſed were readie for that purpoſe) onely foure perſons, as the chiefe ring-leaders, whoſe lot it was to be proceeded withall, for the quenching of the fierie outrage of the reſt, kindled alreadie to the like attempts, as thoſe in Germanie of the Cabinet-teachers, and reformers, both at Mulhuſin, and Munſter in Weſtphalia: which ſeditions could not be appeaſed, till

fiftie thouſand of them were killed, and cut in pieces by the vnited forces of moſt of the Princes of the Empire; And though ſome, not of the greateſt foreſight, may thinke that the feare which our Archbiſhop conceiued of dangers to enſue out of theſe Sectaries attempts, was farre greater then there was iuſt cauſe, yet the examples of thoſe forraine pretenders of like reformation as is afore-ſaid, compared with theſe our reformers deſignes, taught him not to be without feare, or care, for preuenting theſe dangerous euents at home. For all their intendments ſorted to one end, *viz. Reformation*, and to be brought to paſſe by one and the ſelfe ſame meanes; *viz.* by *commotion of the vnbrideled multitude.*

70 For was it not in their aſſemblies *Claſsicall* and *Synodicall* concluded, that the *Diſcipline* ſhould, within a time limited be put in practiſe, and erected all in one day by the Miniſters together with the people? whom theſe Diſciplinarians bragged to be alreadie enflamed with zeale to lend ſo many thouſand hands, for the aduancement of their cauſe, by whom they hoped, and ſaid, ſuch *Reformation* muſt be brought in: And how, I pray you did they incenſe the common people, not onely in their priuate conuenticles (decreeing that the Queenes authoritie ought to be reſtrained in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall) but in their publique Sermons, and exhortations; alienating the hearts of their Auditors from all obedience of the Eccleſiaſticall Magiſtrates? As namely Maiſter *Cartwright*, who ſaith, that no obedience ought to be giuen

giuen vnto them, either in doing that, which they command, or abſtaining from that, which they prohibite: and that it ſhould not be lawfull for any one of the brother-hood, to take an oath whereby hee may diſcouer any thing preiudiciall, to himſelfe, or his brother, eſpecially if hee be perſwaded the matter to be lawfull, for which the puniſhment is like to be inflicted; or, hauing taken it, hee neede not diſcouer the very truth. And in his prayer before his Sermons, he vſed thus to ſay; *Becauſe they* (meaning the Biſhops) *which ought to be pillers in the Church, doe bande themſelues againſt Chriſt, and his truth, therefore, O Lord, giue vs grace and power, all, as one man, to ſet our ſelues againſt them.* Which words, by way of *Emphaſis*, he would often repeate. And how I pray you doth *Penry*, in his *Supplication to the Parliament*, incite both the Lords & Commons, threatning them with plagues, and bloudſhed, if they gathered not courage, and zeale? And withall, ſcoffing at their vnwillingneſſe hitherto for diſturbing of the State, forſooth, to ſet vpon the Hierarchie of the Biſhops, telling them, if they refuſed ſo to doe, they ſhould declare vnto their children, that God had raiſed vp but a companie of white liuered Souldiers to teach them the Goſpell in the ſinceritie vnder Queene *Elizabeth*. And doth not *Vdall* threaten that the Presbyterie ſhall preuaile, and come in by that way, and meanes, as ſhall make all their hearts to ake, that ſhall withſtand or hinder the ſame?

Maiſter *Cartwrights* charitable prayer for the Biſhops, in his Sermons at Banburie, 1589.

Penry his Supplication to the Parliament.

Vdalls threats againſt the reſiſters of the Presbiterie.

71 And

71 And when I pray you, were these Classicall assemblies, and these seditious stirs, and hurli-burlies of *Martimets*, & that reforming Sect, put in practise? In the yeere 1588. at that time, when the inuincible Spanish Nauie (as some vainely tearmed it) was vpon our coasts, and should haue inuaded vs; albeit it was by the gracious prouidence of our omnipotent God, preuented, and their ships so dispersed, as that no enemie was able to put foote on English shoare, but as a prisoner or captiue. At which time, as the care of her Maiestie, for the preparation of forces to encounter, and resist them, was very great, so might her griefe also be to behold a discord, and dissention of her owne Subiects within her Realme. The Archbishop also himselfe had not the meanest part to performe in so great and waightie an action; when the whole forces of the Cleargie, not onely within his particular Diocesse, but through his whole Prouince, were committed vnto his care, and charge, to haue in readinesse, besides his owne family, and Tenants, which were by him gathered together, and all prepared, mustered and trayned for defence of Prince, and Countrey.

72 Now, of the afore-said stirrers, and seditious attempts of sundry persons in this our Archbishops time, that Maister *Cartwright* was the fountaine, and principall Author, it may appeare by sundrie passages, as also by the opinion, and dependances, which all the fore-named had vpon him, especially in their proceedings; as their conferences, and conuenticles doe

doe ſufficiently declare, which are extant in the Records of the Star-chamber; whence I haue taken my chiefeſt inſtructions in this behalfe. The recourſe of *Hacket*, *Coppinger*, and *Arthington* vnto him, and his fraternitie, and the vaine conceits of extraordinarie callings, which they were put into, both by ſpeech, and letters, and the opinion, which they all three conceiued of Maiſter *Cartwright* by name, both before, and after their apprehenſion, may appeare ſufficiently, both by the Records, and bookes publiſhed, whereof mention is alreadie made. That *Penry*, *Vdall*, and the reſt of the Libellers, were of his conſort, by his ſight of diuers of the bookes, and knowledge both of the Authors, and publiſhers, and his not reuealing them to the State, he could not denie, being examined thereupon. And that hee approued their hatefull Libels, it appeared by his owne words; when, being asked his opinion of ſuch bookes, hee ſaid; *Seeing the Biſhops, and others there touched, would not amend by graue bookes, and aduertiſements, it was therefore meete, they ſhould be dealt withall, to their further reproach.* Which was not vnſuteable to one of his owne decrees in a Synode, where it was determined, *that no bookes ſhould be put in print, but by conſent of the* Claſſes; *that ſome of thoſe bookes muſt be earneſt, ſome more milde, and temperate; whereby they may be both of the ſpirit of* Elias *and* Elizeus.

Conſpiracie for pretended Reformation.

Dangerous Poſitions.

In the Articles in the Star-chamber.

73 That *Barrow* and *Greenwood* were ſo infected with his grounds, and opinions, which brought them vnto their fatall ends, ſhall manifeſtly appeare

vnto you vpon *Barrows* owne confeſſion. For when Doctor *Rauis* (then Chaplaine to the Archbiſhop, & late Lord Biſhop of London) at the earneſt deſire of *Barrow* himſelfe, and direction of the Archbiſhop, dealt with Maiſter *Cartwright* to conferre with *Barrow*, they being then both priſoners in the Fleete: Maiſter *Cartwright* (hauing beene once before with him, at the entreatie of Maiſter *Sperin* a Miniſter) would by no meanes be drawne to further conference with him againe: Which his refuſall when it was by Doctor *Rauis* ſignified to *Barrow*, in the preſence of diuers of good reputation, and account, he fetched a great ſigh, ſaying, *And will he not? Hath he onely brought me into this brake, and will he now leaue me? For from him receiued I my grounds, and, out of his premiſes, did I inferre, and make the concluſion of the Poſitions, which I now holde, and for which I ſuffer bands.*

Biſhop *Rauis* his conference with *Barrow* and *Greenwood*, 1592.

74 Againe, when ſentence of death was giuen againſt the ſaid *Barrow*, Doctor *Androwes* (now Lord Biſhop of Ely) Doctor *Biſſe*, and Doctor *White*, were ſent vnto him to counſell him for his ſoules health. There alſo accompanied them Doctor *Parry*, now Lord Biſhop of Worceſter. After many paſſages of ſpeech with Doctor *White*, (vnto whom hee then ſeemed eſpecially to addreſſe himſelfe) he brake forth into theſe words. You are not the men, whom I moſt diſlike in theſe differences. For although you be out of the way, yet you thinke you are in the right: But I cannot but complaine of Maiſter *Cartwright* and

Biſhop *Androwes* and Biſhop *Parrey*, with others, their conference with *Barrow* and *Greenwood*.

and others of his knowledge, from whom wee haue receiued the truth of theſe things, and haue beene taught, that your callings are Antichriſtian; who yet vtterly, againſt their conſciences, forſake vs in our ſufferings, and will not come out of Babilon, for feare of their liues. It being farther replied by Doctor *White*, that thoſe callings, which *Barrow* reproached as Antichriſtian; were the very ſame, which Archbiſhop *Cranmer*, and *Ridley*, and many other holy Biſhops, &c. (that ſuffered Martyrdome in Queene *Maries* time) did embrace; *Barrow* replied in this vaine-glorious manner; True it is that *Cranmer*, & others were Martyrs in Queene *Maries* dayes, but theſe holy bands of mine (& therewithall ſhooke the fetters, which he did weare) are much more glorious, then any of theirs, becauſe they had the marke of Antichriſt in their hands. Thus he, in Newgate at that time, in the preſent of many, with great inſolencie, did triumph.

Barrowes vaine-glorious anſwer.

75 Men, therefore, not partially affected, may hereby obſerue, and conceiue what danger Innouation bringeth to the people, and what hazard to a State; when, by little and little, it encreaſeth like the ſwelling, or flowing of the Sea; which if it ſurpaſſe the bounds, wherewith it was confined, or gaine neuer ſo ſmall a breach, it ſpreadeth it ſelfe ouer a whole Country, and groweth to that violence, and ſtreame, that it cannot, by any contrarie force be kept backe; but without pittie or mercie, putteth all things to wracke, where it rageth. Which, as it

The danger of Innouation.

seemeth, Maister *Cartwright* himselfe did now finde; when after his first conference, hee perceiued how impossible it was for him to make vp the breach, which he had vnfortunately begun; for that *Barrow*, like a tempestuous surge, would haue forced him (by finding his owne ouer-sight and errors) backe againe from his former positions, or drawne him ineuitably to his conclusions.

76 And therefore obseruable it is, that Maister *Cartwright*, hauing vpon his first discontentment (as hath beene deliuered) made a desperate assault and breach in Sions peaceable and blessed Citie, now like a slie Captaine did steale away secretly (after summons giuen) from his owne siege, fearing vpon his entrie by the force and presse of his owne Souldiers, to be enuironed and kept within the walles (as *Pyrrhus* was) to the losse of his life; or doubting belike, the outrage, and violence of his Armie, whose furie, he could not haue appeased, when he list, but haue beene enforced (as *Titus* was) to see his Souldiers sacke, spoile, and burne the holy Citie of Ierusalem, though hee vehemently laboured, and with great earnestnesse cried out vnto them (whom yet himselfe first set on worke) to saue the Sanctuarie of the Lord, but could not be heard, or at least, was not able to stop their rage, and furie, vntill it was with fire consumed and destroyed.

77 Not much differing from the said positions of *Barrow* and *Greenwood*, were the opinions of *Robert Browne* (sometimes of Bennet Colledge in Cam-

Cambridge) from whom that Sect beareth the name euen to this day. But becauſe in this Archbiſhops time, the ſaid *Browne* was changed from thoſe fancies, and afterwards obtained a benefice called *Achurch in Northamptonſhire* (where hee became a painefull Preacher) I will not much inſiſt vpon him.

Browne's Poſitions.

78 I let paſſe many like Schiſmes in other parts of the Realme, which this good Archbiſhop ſuppreſſed, and the controuerſies in both Vniuerſities, which by his wiſdome were appeaſed; as alſo the reuerend opinion which diuers honorable perſonages had of him for his great temper and moderation in handling theſe buſineſſes towards ſome of great place (whoſe reputations if he would, hee might haue blemiſhed with her Maieſtie, for fauouring the aforeſaid libellers, and libells, which had ſtowage and vent in their chambers) as alſo in procuring, at her Maieſties hands, both pardon and diſmiſſion for Maiſter *Cartwright*, and the reſt, out of their troubles.

79 For which, and ſundry other his fauours, Maiſter *Cartwright* held himſelfe much obliged vnto him, as hee confeſſed in his letters, written with his owne hand to that effect. In which letters he is alſo pleaſed to vouchſafe him the ſtile of a *Right Reuerend Father in God, and his Lord the Archbiſhops Grace of Canterbury*. Which title of *Grace* hee alſo often yeeldeth him throughout his letters, acknowledging his *bond of moſt humble dutie ſo much the ſtraighter, becauſe his Graces fauour proceeded from a franke diſpoſition,*

Maiſter *Cartwrights* letters. 24. March, 1601.

ſition, without any deſert of his owne. Yea the Archbiſhop hath beene heard to ſay, that if Maiſter *Cartwright* had not ſo farre ingaged himſelfe, as he did, in the beginning, he thought verily he would, in his latter time, haue beene drawne to conformitie. For when he was freed from his troubles, he often repayred to the Archbiſhop, who vſed him kindly, and was contented to tolerate his preaching in Warwicke, diuers yeeres, vpon his promiſe, that he would not impugne the lawes, orders, and gouernment in this Church of England, but perſwade and procure, ſo much as hee could, both publiquely, and priuately the eſtimation and peace of the ſame. Which albeit he accordingly performed, yet when her Maieſtie vnderſtoode by others, that Maiſter *Cartwright* did preach againe (though temperatelie, according to his promiſe made to the Archbiſhop) ſhe would by no meanes indure his preaching any longer without *ſubſcription*; and grew not a little offended with the Archbiſhop for ſuch conniuencie at him. Not long after Maiſter *Cartwright* died rich, as it was ſaid, by the beneuolence and bountie of his followers.

80 After theſe ſtirres, thus ſuppreſſed, they began to tamper with the Earle of Eſſex: who was growne into a great height of fauour with the Queene; and by reaſon, that ſundry of his kindred, and allies, were inclined that way, they ſo farre preuailed with him, that he did priuily & as far as he durſt for feare of the Queenes diſpleaſure, giue way and countenance to them. But vpon better conſideration finding by the headie

heady courſes of ſome of them, the danger that ther-by was like to grow to her Maieſty & the State, and the reſolution had of all hands to cut them off by the law aforeſaid, he grew very calme, and was carefull how to carry himſelfe vprightly betwixt both. And yet the Archbiſhop had ſtill a vigilant eye ouer him that he could not, though he would doe any great hurt.

81 For, to ſay the truth, by this due execution of lawes, in the beginning, and the prouident courſes of the Archbiſhop, with the aſſiſtance and painfull endeauours of Doctor *Bancroft*, and Doctor *Coſin*, and the publiſhing of their learned, and vnanſwerable bookes, the ſtate of the Cleargie was in good quiet; eſpecially, ſo long as Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton*, the Lord Chancellor did liue.

82 Immediately after whoſe death, the Archbiſhop attending vpon her Maieſtie, and aduiſing with her who was fitteſt to ſucceede him in the Chancellorſhip of Oxford, found her graciouſly enclined towards the Lord *Buckhurſt*; in whoſe behalfe ſhe preſently diſpatched her Letters to the Vniuerſitie, and preuailed: whereat the Earle of Eſſex was ſo offended (his friends hauing laboured exceedingly therein, on his behalfe) that being then Lord Generall of her Maieſties forces in Fraunce, he made open profeſſion of his diſlike of the Archbiſhop. But, vpon his returne into England, finding how firme her Maieſtie ſtood for him, and that his ſtirring in the matter muſt needes call in queſtion her Maieſties iudgement, did therefore in a temperate manner expoſtulate

Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton* died 20. Nouemb. 1591.

late the matter with the Archbiſhop, from whom he receiued ſuch an anſwere, as he knew not well whom to be angrie withall, vnleſſe with the Queene her ſelfe, who thought him too young a man (being yet no Counſellor) for ſo graue a title, & fearing happily, leaſt if ſhee ſhould haue committed the guiding of that Vniuerſitie vnto his young yeares, and vnexperienced iudgement, ſome hot and vnruly ſpirits there (like *Phaetons* vntamed horſes) might haue carried him in ſuch an headlong courſe of gouernment, as that the ſparks of contention, which were then ſcarſe kindled in that Vniuerſitie, might haue broken forth into open flames, to the vtter deſtruction and deuaſtation of the whole ſtate Eccleſiaſticall. And, beſides this, ſhe held the Lord *Buckhurſt* (being an ancient Counſellor, and her kinſman, more fit for the place a great deale. And ſo much it ſeemed the Queene had tolde the Earle in iuſtification of the Archbiſhop, before his queſtioning of the matter with him; for in effect, he acknowledged ſo much, and thereupon they parted in no vnkinde tearmes, but with due reſpect of each other in very friendly manner. The Queene, not long after, was the meane of their entring into further friendſhip: hauing oftentimes recommended vnto the Archbiſhop, the Earles many excellent parts, and vertues, which ſhe thought then rare in ſo young yeeres. And the Earle likewiſe confeſſed to the Archbiſhop, that her Maieſties often ſpeech of her extraordinarie opinion of him, and his worth, was the cauſe of his ſeeking after

after the Archbiſhop; and therefore did offer to runne a courſe for Cleargie cauſes, according to his directions, and aduiſe, and to caſt off theſe Noueliſts, as indeede he did, immediately after Sir *Francis Walſinghams* death; which was a ſpeciall cauſe of the Archbiſhops conſtancie, and firmeneſſe to the Earle in his diſgrace and trouble afterwards.

Sir *Francis Walſingham* died 6. April, 1590.

83 But now to returne to our former courſe: the Lord Chancellors death much troubled & perplexed the Archbiſhop; fearing that new troubles would befall him and the Church. Howbeit, things were then ſo well, and firmely ſetled, that he had no great adoe afterwards, ſauing with their diſperſing of Pamphlets, and that ſome few perſons (though thankes be to God not powerfull) both in Court and Country, did attempt, as much as in them lay, by motions in Parliament, and billes there preferred, to bring in I know not (nor they themſelues) what kinde of new gouernment in the Church, but were preuented by the wiſedome of her Maieſtie, who alwaies ſuppreſſed thoſe billes and motions, and ſtill comforted the Archbiſhop (who was oftentimes much grieued with their cauſeleſſe complaints) and aſſured him they ſhould not preuaile to doe any hurt, except it were to hurt themſelues. For ſhee did ſee in her Princely wiſedome, how dangerous they were to her and all imperiall gouernment. And when ſhee found them ſtill bent to purſue ſuch billes, and motions, ſhee (to deliuer the Archbiſhop from further trouble and vexation) before it was ex-

pected, and as it were with silence, brake vp the Parliament.

Sir *Iohn Puckering* Lord Keeper. 4. *Iunij*, 1592.

84 AFter the death of Sir *Christopher Hatton*, Sir *Iohn Puckering* was made Lord Keeper of the great Seale of England, of whom (because he liued not long) I shall not haue occasion to say much; But for ought that I euer heard, hee shewed himselfe a friend to the Church, vnto the Archbishop and his proceedings, and acknowledged him to haue beene amongst his other good friends, a furtherer of his aduancement.

Sir *Thomas Egerton* made Lord Keeper of the great Seale, 6. *Maij*, 1596.

85 Sir *Thomas Egerton*, Maister of the Rolles, succeeded him. 6. May, 1596. Her Maiestie and the State had long experience of his integritie and wisedome, as may appeare by the great places, which he worthily held; being first her Highnesses Sollicitour, and then Atturney generall. In which time (besides his many great and waightie seruices) hee was very carefull and industrious in labouring earnestly to suppresse the afore-said Libellers; a louer of learning, and a most constant fauourer of the Cleargie, and Church gouernment established: as also a faithfull louing friend to the Archbishop in all his affaires; in so much as after his aduancement to that honour, and that the Earle of Essex and the Archbishop concurred together, being also (out of the affection of his most honourable friend, the Lord *Burghley*, Lord Treasurer) further strengthened by the friendship and loue of Sir *Robert Cecyll*, principall Secretarie,

(and

(and now Earle of Salisburie, and Lord Treasurer of England) he began to be fully reuiued againe, and as well fortified by them, as euer he was, when hee was most, and best friended. And her Maiestie finding in him a zealous care, and faithfull performance of his dutie and seruice towards the Church, and her Highnesse, shooke off those Cleargie cares, and laide the burthen of them vpon his shoulders, telling him that if any thing went amisse, be it vpon his soule, and conscience, to answere it; for shee had rid her hands, and looked that hee should yeeld an account, on her behalfe, vnto Almightie God.

86 And now, though the Archbishop was in this singular fauour & grace with her Maiestie, so that he did all in all for the managing of Cleargie affaires, & disposing of Bishopricks, & other Ecclesiasticall promotions, yet was he neuer puffed vp with pride, nor did any thing violently (by reason of his place and greatnesse with her Maiestie) against any man. For he euer obserued this rule, that he would not wound, where he could not salue. And I leaue to the report of the aduersaries themselues, when he had that sway in gouernment, and fauour with her Highnesse, whether his cariage were not exceeding milde, and temperate, and whether he did not endeauour rather by gentle perswasions, and kinde vsages to winne them, then (as the law and his place required) to pronounce sentence, or lay any sharpe censure vpon them. Hath he not many a time, when sentence hath beene readie to be giuen, by consent of all the Commissioners,

found ſome occaſion to delay the ſentence to another Court day, and in the meane time, ſo plyed the Delinquents, and ſet on others to perſwade them, as thereby many of them were wonne, which otherwiſe would neuer haue beene brought vnto Conformity? Wherein he was of *Antoninus Pius* his minde, who ſaid, when hee was taxed by *Aurelius* for like remiſneſſe, and lenitie, that *he had rather ſaue one Citizen of Rome, then kill a thouſand enemies.* And yet they knew this Archbiſhop had courage enough in him, and credit, and authoritie to backe him, if hee would haue extended it vnto ſeuerity.

Opus de temporibus mundi in vita, Antonini Pij.

87 But it was truly noted in him by a great Counſellour in the Star-chamber, when *Pickering* was there cenſured for libelling againſt him after his death, *that there was nothing more to be feared in his gouernment (eſpecially toward his latter time) then his mildeneſſe, and clemencie.* And hee ſaid that, which was moſt true; for did he not, after that *Vdall*, and others were condemned vnto death, draw vpon him the diſlike of his deare, and honourable friend, in making earneſt ſuite, and neuer ceaſed, vntill he had obtayned pardon for them, at her Maieſties hands? And, beſides the diſmiſſion of Maiſter *Cartwright*, and his Conſorts out of the Star-chamber, did not diuers Gentlemen of ſpeciall note, finde the like fauour there, by his interceſſion, and were eaſed both of fine and puniſhment for entertaining the Preſſes, and Printers before mentioned? The very truth is, I cannot ſufficiently expreſſe his ſingular wiſedome,

The Earle of Salisburie.

Sir *Chriſtopher Hatton.*

and

and clemencie, albeit ſome younger ſpirits were of opinion, that hee was much to blame in that kinde, and imputed it vnto his yeeres, and want of courage, and ſometimes would be bolde to tell him, that hee knew not his owne ſtrength with her Maieſtie.

88 But he knew the Court well, and that Queene *Elizabeth* was the wiſeſt gouernour of any Prince then liuing; and that ſhee had alwaies entreated her Subiects graciouſly, and ruled with all mildeneſſe, and moderation, and that ſhee brought her ſubiects often times rather by gentle meanes to yeeld vnto her iuſt, and profitable demaunds, then enforce them thereunto by rigour, and authoritie; which peraduenture ſhe would haue vſed, conſidering her abſolute Soueraigntie, and great occaſions, had ſhee not found out of her ſingular wiſedome, and long experience in gouernment, that ſhe was the more obſerued, and reuerenced of her people, by intermingling and tempering her authoritie, and ſoueraigntie, with mildeneſſe, and lenitie. And this her Highneſſe example the Archbiſhop followed; agreeable to that, which was ſaid of *Pericles*, *That he would ſteere, and gouerne the Common-wealth with two principall rudders, Feare, and Hope; bridling with the one, the fierce, and inſolent raſhneſſe of the common people, when they were in proſperitie, and in their iollitie; and reuiuing, and comforting, with the other, their diſcontented ſpirits, by giuing way for the time, vnto their humour, and paſsion.* And happy ſurely was it for that craſie ſtate of the Church (for ſo it was at this Archbiſhops

Plutarch, *in vit.*

first comming, and a long time after) not to meete with too rough, and boisterous a Phisitian; for hee preserued it with Conserues, and Electuaries, and some gentle Purges, which with strong Purgations in all likelihood might haue beene much more endangered, so that it may be very well verified of him, which *Enius* wrote of *Fabius Maximus*.

Enius Torent. Annal. lib. 1.

Vnus homo nobis cunctando restituit rem;
Ergo postq; magisq; viri nunc gloria claret.

89 As you may perceiue his clemencie towards the irregular sort, so, towards the conformable, hee was carried with an exceeding tender respect, and kindnesse. Hee loued a learned Minister, vertuous, and honest, with all his heart; framing himselfe vnto that rule of *Aristotle*, *which directeth a good Magistrate to be as carefull in encouraging good men, according to their merits, as in punishing the bad, according to the qualitie of their offences.* If he found a scholler of extraordinarie gifts, or hopes, that out of wants, grew discontented, and enclined to Poperie, or Puritanisme (as most of their discontentments, and waywardnesse proceeded thence) him would hee gaine both with supplies of money out of his purse, and preferments of his owne gift, or otherwise as opportunitie serued.

Aristot. Polit. lib. 1.

90 Now as our owne Country-men of all sorts had daily taste of the kinde disposition of this our Archbishop, so was it not wanting vnto sundry men of

of learning, and quality, of forraine Countries, whom he entertained both with his loue, and his bountie. He ſent ſundry times much money to Maiſter *Beza* out of his owne purſe, beſides the generall Collections, and Contributions to Geneua, which hee alſo greatly furthered. Vpon which occaſion many Letters paſſed betwixt them, eſpecially towards his latter time. In ſome of which letters Mr. *Beza* confeſſeth, *That in his writings, touching the Church gouernment, he euer impugned the Romiſh Hierarchie, but neuer intended to touch, or impugne the Eccleſiaſticall policie of this Church of England, nor to exact of vs to frame our ſelues, or our Church, to the patterne of their Presbiteriall diſcipline, and that as long as the ſubſtance of doctrine were vniforme in the Church of Chriſt, they may lawfully varie in other matters, as the circumſtance of time, place, and perſons requireth, and as preſcription of antiquitie may warrant. And to that end he wiſheth, and hopeth that the ſacred, and holy Colledge of our Biſhops (for ſo he calleth them) will for euer continue and maintaine ſuch their right, and title in the Churches gouernment, with all equitie and Chriſtian moderation.* Yea ſo farre was he from denying our Church to be a Church, that often, and in moſt pithie manner he confeſſeth, *That as Queene* Elizabeth *was the true nourſing mother of the Church of Chriſt, ſo England and our Engliſh Church was both the harbour of all the godly, and the preſeruer of all other reformed Churches.* So farre was he alſo from eſteeming the Archbiſhop an *Antichriſtian Prelate*, as hee neuer omitted to tearme

Theod. Beza his Letters to the Archbiſhop, March 8. 1591.

tearme him, *A moſt Reuerend Father in Chriſt, and his moſt honoured good Lord.* I wiſh that our Diſciplinarians, who ſeeme to direct themſelues by the rule of Geneua, would learne thus to diſcipline their tongues with him, and imitate his modeſtie.

91 The Archbiſhop as from Maiſter *Beza*, ſo from other famous men beyond the Seas receiued many Letters, arguing their great loue, and due reſpect of him. At their requeſt, and recommendation he relieued, & entertained into his houſe, for manie yeeres together, diuers diſtreſſed Miniſters out of Germanie and Fraunce, who were enforced to forſake their owne Countries; ſome by baniſhment, others by reaſon of warres, and extremitie which they were put vnto. And at their departure he dealt bountifully with them; as namely *Druſius*, *Renicherus*, *Frigeuill*, and Monſieur *Buſe*, a French Miniſter, who read weekely a Lecture in Latine in his Chappell. And although his French pronunciation, and want of good deliuerie, did ſomewhat blemiſh the goodneſſe of the matter which he handled; yet the Archbiſhops propertie euer was, to cheriſh and encourage him, and all others that preached before him, and was neuer heard to giue the Preacher diſtaſte, but rather would commend, or excuſe him againſt other mens cenſures; ſaying, if he were young, better experience would correct his defaults, and if he were in yeeres, he was in that reſpect, to be borne withall? alleadging for both, that ſome would take exceptions ſome times rather to ſatisfie their owne

too

too much curiositie, then for any iust cause of dislike in the Preacher.

92 Wherein he shewed a disposition very rarely to be found; in that, hauing himselfe an excellent gift in that facultie, his modestie in prizing himselfe, and his mildenesse in censuring others, was extraordinarie, and very singular: so that thereby he gaue great encouragement vnto some, whom otherwise his exquisite iudgement might haue daunted.

93 Neither herein did he, as in seruice of warre, the Trumpetours vse to doe, who encourage others to fight, neuer taking weapon in hand themselues, or as *Plutarch* noteth in *Aristogiton*, *who annimated others to take Armes, but himselfe in excuse, pleaded lamenesse, and came halting to the Mustars in pretense thereof*; But as his continuall endeauours were to reward those of best gifts, and to encourage those of meaner; so (as often as Church, and State affaires gaue him leaue) he was industrious in propounding wholesome Doctrine vnto the people, and a worthie patterne of true Diuinitie and diligence, vnto all others of the Cleargie to follow him therein. When he was Bishop of Worcester, vnlesse extraordinarie businesses of the Marches of Wales hindered him, he neuer failed to preach vpon euery Sabaoth day; many times riding fiue or sixe miles to a Parish Church, and after Sermon, came home to dinner. The like hee did also when he was Archbishop, and lay at Croydon; the Queene being in her Progresse. No Sunday escaped him in Kent, as the Gentlemen

Plutarch, *in vita* Phocionis.

there can well witneſſe, who would exceedingly reſort vnto him: and he would often times preach ſo early in the morning in ſome Pariſh Church, both in Worceſter, and Canterburie, that hee came afterwards to the Sermon in the Cathedrall Church.

94 His gift that way was excellent, as if you had heard Saint *Auguſtine* himſelfe, or ſome of the ancient Biſhops in the primitiue Church. His geſture, and action in the Pulpit, ſo graue, and decent, his words comming from him ſo fatherly, and comely, and though plainely (for the moſt part) and without affectation, yet alwayes elegantly, with ſpecial choiſe, and ſubſtantiall matter, full of good and ſound learning, plentifull in authorities out of Scripture, Fathers, and Schoole-men, ſo ſingularly applied, that he much affected his Auditorie therewith. Thus he oftentimes ſtirred, and moued mens mindes, and affections; and that not by the force of eloquence onely, but by his pious life, anſwerable to his religious ſentences; the opinion, and confidence which the people had of his integritie, being very great, becauſe he did liue vnſpotted of the world, and would not any way be corrupted.

95 He neuer preached, but he firſt wrote his notes in Latine, and afterwards kept them during his life. For he would ſay, that whoſoeuer tooke that paines before his preaching, the elder he waxed, the better he ſhould diſcharge that dutie; but if he truſted onely to his memorie, his preaching in time would become pratling. Wherein (out of a true religious care,

and

and diuine wiſedome) he did expreſſe the graue and prudent counſell that *Demoſthenes* held in his Orations, and pleadings in the Court. For (as *Plutarch* ſaith) *Hee would neuer offer to ſpeake vnto the people, before he had made briefes of that, which he had to deliuer, alleadging that he loued the people well, that would be carefull before hand what to ſay vnto them. And this preparation* (ſaith he) *doth ſhew that a man honoureth and reuerenceth them to. Contrariwiſe, he that paſſeth not how the people taketh his words, it is a plaine token, that he deſpiſeth them, and their authoritie, and that he lacketh no good will, to vſe force againſt them, if he could, rather then reaſon, or perſwaſion.*

Plutarch, *in vit.* Demoſth.

96 When he was Biſhop of Worceſter, and Vicepreſident of the Marches, he did exceeding good by that his continuall preaching, as alſo by his often conference, and conuenting of the Papiſts, whom he vſed with milde, and temperate ſpeeches, and thereby got many of them to conforme themſelues, both Gentlemen, and others, whereby, as at his firſt comming vnto the See of Worceſter, he found many Recuſants, ſo he left very few at his comming thence.

97 Immediately after hee came to be Archbiſhop, he conuented before him the chiefeſt, and moſt learned Recuſants throughout all England. He alſo wrote Letters to the Biſhops, his brethren, within the Prouince of Canterburie, to proceede with the Recuſants by their authoritie Eccleſiaſticall, and cenſures of the Church, and called yeerely vpon them for an account of their doings. Hee ſent forth alſo

many Warrants, by vertue of her Highneſſe Commiſſion for cauſes Eccleſiaſticall, and thereby had daily brought before him both Recuſants & Prieſts; who according to the qualitie of their offences were reſtrained, and proceeded againſt, or deliuered ouer vnto the ciuill Magiſtrate to be dealt with all, as to Iuſtice appertained, after the Lawes were enacted againſt Recuſants and Seminarie Prieſts.

98 Thus this graue, and prudent Archbiſhop alwaies carried a moſt vigilant eye, and ſtraight hand ouer the ſubtle headed Papiſts; as fearing leaſt they conceiued an hope of aduancing their cauſe and quarrell by help of the afore-ſaid contentions betwixt the Biſhops, and theſe Sectaries, and ſo ſoone as they ſhould haue found the forces on both ſides ſufficiently weakned, and enfeebled by a long continuance of the conflict, to haue deſtroyed the vanquiſhed with the vanquiſhers, whereby to re-eſtabliſh their papall Iuriſdiction, and ſuperſtitious impieties; as not long after this Archbiſhops death, they attempted to doe, by the diuelliſh deuiſe of that damnable *Powder-Treaſon*; which if it had ſucceeded, their intendment then was, to haue put both alike to the ſword.

99 You may perceiue by the premiſſes, how vntruely ſome of the vncharitable, and precipitate Sectaries traduced him for a Papiſt, and called him *The Pope of Lambehith* in their Libels, and Conuenticles, and moſt vniuſtly reproached him with the title of *Doctor Pearnes ſeruant*, whom they likewiſe taxed with Poperie, and falſly charged him to haue

infected

infected the Archbiſhop therewith, becauſe of his affection and loue vnto him, for the reaſons ſpecified before. The truth is; as the Archbiſhop was of his owne nature a very louing kinde man, ſo he did hate ingratitude in any, and could neuer be taxed with that fault. Hee was likewiſe (as the Gentlemen of Worceſterſhire and Kent, had daily experience) very firme, and meruailous conſtant, where hee affected, and profeſſed loue, which brought him in great diſpleaſure in the cauſe of the late Earle of Eſſex; with whoſe life, and actions, though I haue nothing to doe (hauing onely taken vpon mee to report another mans) yet thus much I may truly ſay, that his miſfortune drew vpon the Archbiſhop the greateſt diſcontentment, and ſeuereſt reprehenſion from her Maieſtie, that he had euer before vnder-gone in all his life.

100 For after that the Earle began to fall vpon courſes diſpleaſing, & diſtaſtfull vnto her Maieſty, neuertheleſſe ſuch was the confidence the Archbiſhop had in the Earles loyaltie, and his owne ſtedfaſtneſſe in that friendſhip, which he had formerly profeſſed vnto him, that he could not be drawne from being a continuall interceſſour for him; wherewith her Maieſtie was ſo highly diſpleaſed, and ſo ſharply rebuked him for the ſame, that the good olde Archbiſhop came ſometimes home much grieued and perplexed.

101 Within a while after, the Earle (*forgetting that vnto Princes the higheſt iudgement of things is* Tacit. Annal. lib. 4.

Earle of Eſſex apprehended 8. Febru. 1600.

giuen, and vnto vs the glory of obedience is left) went out indeede. The Archbiſhop being that Sunday morning at the Court (whether by direction, or of his owne accord, I know not) haſtned home without any attendant, and commanded as many men as he then had in the houſe, to be preſently armed, and ſent them ouer vnto the Court, but not to goe within the gates, vntill Maiſter Secretarie *Cecill*, or ſome other by his inſtruction, ſhould appoint them a leader. There were immediately preſented vnto him threeſcore men well armed, and appointed, who with a meſſage from the Archbiſhop, ſhewed themſelues before the Court, of whoſe arriuall there, Maiſter Secretarie *Cecill*, with the reſt of the Lords of the Counſell were right glad, and ſaid he was a moſt worthie Prelate. They had ſpeedily a leader appointed vnto them, and marched preſently, and were the firſt that entered into the gates of *Eſſex* houſe; and in the firſt Court made good the place vntill the Earle yeelded himſelfe, and was by the Lord Admirall brought to Lambehith houſe, where hee remained an houre or two, and was from thence conueyed to the Tower. The Archbiſhop had likewiſe in readineſſe that afternoone forty horſmen wel appointed, & expected directions from the Court, how to diſpoſe of them. The next morning, he ſent a Gentleman to know how the Queene did, and how ſhe reſted all night. To whom ſhe made anſwere, that ſhe reſted, and ſlept the better for his care the day before; but I beſhrew his heart (ſaid ſhe) he would not beleeue this of *Eſſex*, though

though I had often tolde him it would, one day, thus come to passe.

102 After this, when her Maiestie vnderstood that her owne recommendation of the Earle had wrought that good opinion of him in the Archbishop, and that shee now found his readinesse for her defence, with horse, and men, and the neerenesse thereof vnto the Court to stand her at that time in great steed, she began to entertaine him in her wonted fauour, and grace againe, and euer after continued her good opinion of him vnto her dying day.

103 Towards which time, though by reason of her melancholy disease, she was impatient of others speeches with her, yet was shee well pleased to heare the Archbishop, the then Bishops of London, & Chichester, and the now Bishop of Worcester, with some other Deuines giue her comfort, and counsell to prepare her selfe to God ward, and most deuoutly prayed with them, making signes and tokens vnto her last remembrance of the sweet comfort which she tooke in their presence, especially when towards her end, they put her in minde of the vnspeakeable ioyes she was now going vnto; where no doubt shee remaineth a glorious Saint of God, and as a most religious Prince, rewarded with a Crowne of immortalitie, and blisse.

Queene *Elizabeth* died 24. March, 1602.

D. *Bancroft.*
D. *Watson.*
D. *Parry.*

104 NOw the much lamented death of this noble Queene, gaue great hope to the factious, of challenging forth-with all exemption from the

the censures, and subiection of Ecclesiasticall authoritie: but how vaine their hopes were, the issue hath declared; And although the Archbishop was much dejected, and greeued for the losse of his deere Soueraigne and Mistresse, who had so highly aduanced him, yet he, with the rest of the Lords, repaired immediately to White-Hall, and after two houres sitting in Counsell, about the penning of the Proclamation, he principally (as his place required) with a cheerefull countenance, and the rest of the Lords in like sort, accompanying him, first at the Court gate, at White-Hall, with the applause, and vnspeakeable comfort of all the people, proclaimed her most rightfull Successour, IAMES (then King of Scotland) King of England, Fraunce, and Ireland. Afterwards in like cheerefull sort, the Archbishop with the rest of the Lords, trouped vp to the Crosse in Cheapeside, and there with like acclamation of the Lord Maior, and Citizens proclaimed him againe.

King *Iames* proclaimed King of England 24. March 1602.

Sr. *Robert Leighe* Lord Maior.

105 I am doubtfull to speake (least I might seeme to detract from others) of the great comfort which the common people, and Citizens tooke in the presence of the Archbishop, and how hartily they prayed for him at his returne, as if they nothing doubted, but that all went well for the State in that Counsell, among whom he was present.

106 He was, indeede, beloued of all sorts of people, yea euen of some of them, who were the most feruent Reprehenders themselues, as they haue confessed since his death. And well worthie was he so to be,

be, for that he carried a moſt milde, and moderate hand ouer them. A more particular loue alſo he deſerued of many, for his affection vnto liberall, and ingenious Arts, whereof his domeſtick gouernment, and care, was no leſſe argument, then his publique; which I haue formerly ſpoken of. For beſides the paines, which he tooke himſelfe (after he was Biſhop of Worceſter, and Archbiſhop of Canterburie) manie yeeres, with a number of worthie young Gentlemen, in reading vnto them thrice a day, he tooke into his houſe, beſides his Chaplaines, diuers of qualitie to inſtruct them in the Mathematicks, and other Lectures of ſundry Arts and Languages; giuing them good allowance, and preferments otherwiſe, as occaſion was offered. And beſides the many poore Schollers, whom hee kept in his houſe till he could prouide for them, and preferre them (as he did ſundrie to good eſtates) hee alſo maintained diuers in the Vniuerſitie, at his owne charge, and gaue liberally to them, and others of any towardlineſſe, as he heard of their neceſſitie, and wants.

107 He kept likewiſe for the exerciſe of militarie diſcipline a goodly armorie, and a faire ſtable of great horſes; inſomuch as hee was able to arme at all points both horſe and foote, and diuers times had one hundred foote, and fiftie horſe of his owne ſeruants muſtered, and trayned; for which purpoſe hee entertained Captaines. Hee had alſo skilfull Riders, who taught them to manage their horſes, and inſtructed them in warlike exerciſes, all whom he rewarded

in liberall manner. By this meanes, he had diuers of his owne Gentlemen, that afterwards proued good Souldiers; many whereof became Captaines and Commanders, and ſome for their valour, and ſeruice were Knighted in the field. There were alſo diuers others, that for learning, languages, and qualities were fit to be employed by any Prince in Chriſtendome. Inſomuch as his houſe, for the Lectures and ſcholaſticall exerciſes therein performed, might iuſtly be accounted a little Academie, and in ſome reſpects ſuperiour, and more profitable; *viz.* for martiall affaires, and the experience that Deuines, and other Schollers had, being neere, and often at the Court, and chiefe ſeates of iuſtice, from whence they continually had the paſſages, and intelligences both for matters of ſtate, and gouernment in cauſes Eccleſiaſticall and ciuill. By which their continuall experience, many of his domeſticall Chaplaines, both before, and ſince his death, attayned vnto the chiefeſt honours, and dignities in our Church, and Common wealth.

Archbiſhop *Bancroft.*
Doctor *Rauis*, Biſhop of London.
Doctor *Barlow*, Biſhop of Lincolne.
Doctor *Goldisbury*, Biſhop of Glouceſter.
Doctor *Parry*, Biſhop of Worceſter.
Doctor *Redman*, Biſhop of Norwich.
Doctor *Buckeridge*, Biſhop of Rocheſter.

108 And here I may not forget his religious care and prouident order for the due execution of his charge, and determination of all ſuch cauſes, as belonged vnto his proper cognizance, and place. To which end and purpoſe, he appointed euery Thurſday, in terme, a ſolemne, and ſet Commiſſion day; vpon which he had a Sermon in his Chappell, by one of his houſehold Chaplaines, and entertayned the Commiſſioners, and their attendants, though to his great

great expence, which he little esteemed in regard of the well guiding, and ordering the affaires, then by him vndertaken. That day you should haue had a Senate of the worthiest and greatest Counsellors of State, with the assistance of the chiefe Prelates, Iustices, Iudges, and sufficientest Lawyers of both professions, that those times afforded.

109 You may then hereby obserue the Archbishops exceeding care and singular wisedome in proceeding with the aduise of so many worthie, prudent, and learned men of seuerall faculties; whereby the subiects came cheerefully to the hearing of their causes, and without feare of partiality in any perticular person. And howsoeuer the cause went, the Archbishop could not be impeached of rash or inconsiderate proceeding, seeing he had the consent and approbation of all professions. For the Archbishop alwayes gaue sentence, and ordered matters as the greater part of the Court did encline, beginning at the Iunior first, although himselfe would sometimes dissent from them in opinion, and so he would tell them, but without tartnesse, yea in such kinde and louing manner, as no man was hindered in deliuering his minde. By which meanes hee was sure alwayes to haue the cause fully debated, and euery mans opinion fully knowne; which when hee found concurring with his owne, and the proceedings ordered according to the Rules of Iustice, hee would goe on to sentence and determine the cause.

110 Wherein he carried himselfe with great reso-

lution, and courage, were the persons neuer so great, that were interessed in the same, as you may perceiue by one instance (amongst many) when himselfe was yet no Counsellour of State. A Gentleman of good note seeing how the Court was enclined to order his cause (not according to his desire) tolde the Archbishop that vpon another occasion, there grew some speech of that cause before the Lords of the Counsell, and their Lordships were of another opinion then his Grace, and the rest of the Commissioners, seemed to be; what tellest thou mè (said the Archbishop) of the Lords of the Counsell? I tell thee, they are in these cases, to be aduised by vs, and not we by them. Hee would vpon such like occasions oftentimes say vnto his priuate friends towards his latter time (when they talked familiarly with him, and obserued his courage and stoutnesse) *That two things did helpe much to make a man confident in good causes, namely*, Orbitas, et senectus; *and (said he) they steed me both.*

111 This orderly proceeding, and course, vpheld the reputation, and dignitie of the Commission Court; which albeit it be of great authoritie, and dealeth, for the most part, in matters of great waight, and importance, yet the want of worthie assistants, and Counsell (if the like care should not be continued) may make it grow to be of little reputation, as experience hath somewhat taught vs since the decease of this good Archbishop: Whereunto not vnaptly may be applied that which *Plutarch* reporteth of *Cato Vtican, When hee was Prætor: For hee would* Plutarch, *in vita.*

often-

oftentimes goe on foote, bare legged, and without his Gowne, vnto his Prætorian chayre, and there giue sentence of life and death, whereby he rather defaced, and impaired the Maiestie and dignitie of his Office, then gaue it countenance by his manner of proceeding; although otherwise he were a good Common-wealthes man, and ministred iustice vprightly vnto all.

112 But I returne vnto our Archbishop againe. He gaue audience vnto suitors twice a day, and afforded them set houres for their dispatch, at which time he would so courteously entreate them, giuing them so milde, and gentle answeres, that euen they, that sped not of their suites, did depart without discontentment. Wherein I may iustly compare him vnto *Titus, qui neminem vnquam a se tristem dimisit*; He dismissed no man sorrowfull from his presence. Wherefore hee gaue also expresse commandement vnto his Officers, that suitors and strangers should euer be courteously entertained, as well for expedition of their suits, as for hospitalitie sake. *Sueton. in vita.*

113 He had a desire alwayes to keepe a great and bountifull house; and so he did, hauing the same well ordered and gouerned by his head Officers therein, and all things in plentifull manner, both for his owne seruice and entertainment of strangers, according to their seuerall qualities and degrees. He often feasted the Cleargie, Nobilitie, and Gentrie, of his Dioceese, and neighbourhood. And at Christmasse, especially, his gates were alwayes open, and his Hall set twice or thrice ouer with strangers: vpon

ſome chiefe feaſtiuall dayes, he was ſerued with great ſolemnitie, ſometime vpon the knee, as well for the vpholding of the ſtate that belonged vnto his place, as for the better education, and practiſe of his Gentlemen, and attendants in point of ſeruice.

114 Euery yeere hee entertained the Queene at one of his houſes, ſo long as he was Archbiſhop: and ſome yeeres twice or thrice, where all things were performed in ſo ſeemely an order, that ſhee went thence alwayes exceedingly well pleaſed. And beſide many publique, and gracious fauours done vnto him, ſhe would ſalute him, and bid him farewell by the name of *blacke husband*; calling alſo his men her ſeruants, as a token of her good contentment with their attendance and paines.

115 Euery third yeere he went into Kent (vnleſſe great occaſions hindered him) where hee was ſo honourably attended vpon by his owne traine (conſiſting of two hundred perſons) and with the Gentlemen of the Country, that he did ſometimes ride into the Citie of Canterburie, and into other Townes with eight hundred or a thouſand horſe. And ſurely the entertainement which he gaue them, and they him, was ſo great, that, as I am verily perſwaded, no ſhiere in England did, or could, giue greater, or with more cheerefull mindes, each vnto other. The fatherly care, which he had of his Cleargie, (whom he neuer charged with *viſitation*, but once in twentie yeeres) his affabilitie amongſt the Gentlemen, and courteous vſage of his Tennants, gayned him ſo great

great loue, that hee might very farre preuaile with them; yea, they neuer denied him any requeſt, that he made vnto them.

His firſt iourney into Kent, Iuly 1589.

118 At his firſt iourney into Kent, he rode to Douer, being attended with an hundred of his owne ſeruants, at leaſt, in liuerie, whereof there were fortie Gentlemen in chaines of gold. The traine of Cleargie, and Gentlemen in the Country, and their followers, was aboue fiue hundred horſe. At his enterance into the Towne, there happily landed an Intelligencer from Rome, of good parts, & account, who wondred to ſee an Archbiſhop, or Cleargie man in England, ſo reuerenced, and attended: but ſeeing him vpon the next Sabaoth day after in the Cathedrall Church of Canterburie, attended vpon by his Gentlemen, and ſeruants (as is aforeſaid) alſo by the Deane, Prebendaries, and Preachers in their Surpleſſes, and ſcarlet Hoods, and heard the ſolemne Muſicke with the voyces, and Organs, Cornets, and Sagbutts, hee was ouertaken with admiration, and tolde an Engliſh Gentleman of very good qualitie (who then accompanied him) *That they were led in great blindeneſſe at Rome, by our owne Nation, who made the people there beleeue, that there was not in England, either Archbiſhop, or Biſhop, or Cathedrall, or any Church or Eccleſiaſticall gouernement; but that all was pulled downe to the ground, and that the people heard their Miniſters in Woods, and Fields, amongſt Trees, and bruite beaſts: But, for his owne part, he proteſted, that (vnleſſe it were in the Popes Chappell) hee neuer*

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ſaw

saw a more solemne sight, or heard a more heauenly sound. Well, said the English Gentleman; I am glad of this your so luckie, and first sight, ere long you will be of another minde, and, I hope worke miracles when you returne to Rome, in making those, that are led in this blindnesse to see and vnderstand the truth. *It is* (said the Intelligencer) *the chiefe cause of my comming, to see with mine owne eyes, and truly to enforme others.* Whereupon the said English Gentleman accompanied him to London, and so to the Court, where he saw, and heard many things to confirme the Gentlemans report, for the gouernement of the Church, and ciuill carriage of the people, in their obedience to the Cleargie, and Magistrates in the Common-wealth. Afterwards this Intelligencer had priuate speech with Sir *Frauncis Walsingham* (then principall Secretarie to her Maiestie) who related all this to the Archbishop with due approbation of his Kentish iourney; confessing that hee should reuerence and honour him therefore while he liued. And although hee were one of the honourable Counsellours, before mentioned, that seemed to fauour the precise faction, yet, vndoubtedly, he was, after this time a kinde friend to the Archbishop, and did him many good Offices with the Queene.

117 Howbeit, some of neere alliance vnto Sir *Frauncis*, bearing themselues very boldly vpon his fauour, would oftentimes handle the Archbishop verie roughly, and much prouoke him by vaine speeches, and bragges of their owne worth, and scholler-

ſcholarſhip; and (being meere lay men) would very vnmannerly compare themſelues with the beſt conformable Deuines, for true knowledge, and vnderſtanding of the Scriptures. But the Archbiſhop ſmiling at their vanities, would notwithſtanding courteouſly handle and entreate them in his owne houſe, according to the true rule of hoſpitalitie; not vnlike vnto *Pericles*, *who being reuiled by a leud fellow in the Market-place, all the day long, returned no bad language, but diſpatched his affaires, in hearing the Suppliants, and determining their cauſes, and when night came on, the partie followed him ſtill, railing vpon him, till hee came to his owne houſe: It being now darke*, Pericles, *as he entered in, commanded one of his ſeruants to light him home.* Plutarch, *in vit.*

118 You ſee now of what an excellent nature this Archbiſhop was, how farre from giuing offence, how readie to forgiue a wrong, mercifull, compaſſionate, and tender-hearted. Yet was he not voide (as no man is) of infirmities. The holy Scripture noteth of *Elias*, that he was a man ſubiect to the like paſſions, as we are. But, as *Horace* ſaith, ——— *Iames.* 5. 17.

——— *Optimus ille qui minimis vrgetur*; ſo may it be confeſſed of this Archbiſhop, that the greateſt, or rather onely fault knowne in him was choler; and yet in him ſo corrected, not by Philoſophie alone (as *Socrates* confeſſed of his faults) but by the word, and grace of God, as it rather ſerued for a Whetſtone of his courage in iuſt cauſes, then any weapon whetted againſt the perſon, goods, or good *Serm.* lib. 1. *ſat.* 3.

name of any other. So that it may (as I am verily perſwaded) be rightfully ſaid of him, that hee was ſuch a Magiſtrate, as *Iethro* aduiſed *Moyſes* to take in iudging the people of God, and ſuch a Biſhop as Saint *Paul* requireth in the Church of Chriſt. *Prouide* (ſaith Iethro) *among all the people, men of courage, fearing God, dealing truly, hating couetouſneſſe, and appoint ſuch ouer them to be rulers.* Exod. 18. *And a Biſhop* (ſaith Saint Paul) *muſt be vnreproueable, the husband of one wife, watching, temperate, modeſt, harbarous, apt to teach, not giuen to wine, no ſtriker, not giuen to filthie lucre, but gentle, no fighter, not couetous, one that can rule his owne houſe honeſtly. Hee may not be a young ſcholler, leaſt he, being puffed vp, fall into the condemnation of the Diuell. Hee muſt alſo be well reported of, euen of them which are without, leaſt he fall into rebuke, and the ſnare of the Diuell.* 1 Tim. 3.

119 And now what is there that the Diuell himſelfe, with all his Impes, Popiſh, or Schiſmaticall Libellers, can rebuke or condemne, in this good Archbiſhops Saintly life? Let them examine his actions, in all his carriage and courſe, if ſo they can conuince him in any thing, that was not agreeable to the directions of *Iethro* for a Magiſtrate, and anſwerable vnto the rule of Saint *Paul* for a Biſhop.

120 As for good workes (whereof the Papiſts ſo vainely bragge; as particular effects of their ſuperſtitious doctrines, yea, for which, heauen it ſelfe is a due reward by condignity) many Townes, Cities, and Countyes can yeelde a plentifull teſtimonie for him

in

in this behalfe; namely, Lincolne, Worceſter, the Marches of Wales, Kent and Surrie, wherein hee liued, and, in particuler, that notable monument of our time, his hoſpitall of the bleſſed Trinitie in Croydon, which he built very faire, and colledge-wiſe, for a warden, and eight and twenty Brothers, and ſiſters. He builded alſo neere vnto it a goodly free ſchoole, with a ſchoolemaiſters houſe, allowing vnto the ſchoolemaiſter twenty pounds by yeere for euer. All which hee performed with ſuch allacrity, and good ſucceſſe, that he hath beene heard diuers times to profeſſe with great comfort, that, notwithſtanding the charge of the purchaſe, and building was not ſmall vnto him, in compariſon of his eſtate (who neither impaired houſe-keeping, nor retinue at that time) yet when he had finiſhed and done that whole worke, he found himſelfe no worſe in his eſtate then when hee firſt began, which he aſcribed vnto the extraordinary bleſſing, and goodneſſe of God.

121 After the finiſhing of this hoſpitall, among many other his good deeds, the French leiger Embaſſadour in England, called *Boys Siſi*, enquired what workes the Archbiſhop had publiſhed, for that he would willingly reade his bookes, who was reputed *The Peereleſſe Prelate for Pietie and Learning in our dayes*, and whom in conference, hee found ſo graue, godly, and iudicious; when it was anſwered that hee onely publiſhed certaine bookes in the Engliſh tongue, in defence of the Eccleſiaſticall gouernment (although it be very well knowne to many, who were

Camden *Britan. in Comit. Lincoln.*

neere vnto him, that he left diuers learned Treatiſes in written hand, well worthy the printing) and that it was, thereupon incidently tould the Embaſſadour that he had founded an Hoſpitall, and a Schoole, he vſed theſe words; *Profectô Hoſpitale, ad ſubleuandam paupertatem, et ſchola, ad inſtruendam iuuentutem, ſunt optimi libri, quos Archiepiſcopus conſcribere potuit;* Truely an Hoſpitall to ſuſtaine the poore, and a ſchoole to trayne vp youth, are the worthieſt bookes that an Archbiſhop could ſet forth.

Boys Siſi, the French Embaſſadour, his opinion and ſpeech of Archbiſhop *Whitgift*.

122 And albeit the Archbiſhop had euer a great affection to lie at his manſion houſe at Croydon, for the ſweeteneſſe of the place, eſpecially in Summer time; whereby alſo he might ſome times retyre himſelfe from the multiplicity of buſineſſes, and ſuitors in the vacations; yet, after he had builded his hoſpitall, and his ſchoole, he was farther in loue with the place, then before. The chiefe comfort of repoſe, or ſolace that he tooke, was in often dyning at the hoſpitall among his poore bretheren, as hee called them; There hee was often viſited by his entire, and honourable friends, the Earle of Shrewsbury, Worceſter, and Cumberland, the Lord Zouch, the Biſhop of London, and others of neere place about her Maieſtie, in whoſe company hee chiefly delighted.

123 In the abſence of his friends, he would be exceeding cheereful & affable, with his owne gentlemen, and ſeruants, though his bounty towards them, & the poore, did not conſiſt in words, but in deeds, for hee

was very liberall in rewarding them, both with leaſes, offices, and otherwiſe with ſupplies, as their occaſions required, out of his purſe; and would, I make no queſtion, haue done much more for them out of his owne eſtate, if hee had had ability, and time (after his ſickneſſe firſt ſeized vpon him) to diſpoſe of his worldly affaires.

124 As his bountie was very great towards his owne (for in that number likewiſe he alwaies accounted the poore ſocietie of his hoſpitall) ſo were his hands euery where reached out to the neceſſities of all ſorts. Yea ſuch was his charity, that if he had ſeene poore men addicted to labour, he would haue giuen them mony, and waſte ground, to employ in gardening, or ſome ſuch vſe, as might be for their reliefe. Or if hee heard that any of his poore neighbors were decrepit, or deſtitute of meanes to follow their trade, he would ſupply their needs either with mony or fewel, & ſomtimes poore Watermens wants with boats, and ſuch like; wherein he dealt no worſe with them then that famous Biſhop of Lincolne *Robert Groſthead*, dealt with his poore kinſman; in whoſe behalfe when he was ſollicited to aduaunce him, and thereupon enquiring what courſe of life he followed, and receiuing anſwere that he was an husbandman; *Why then* (quoth he) *if his plough be broken, I will repaire it, or rather then faile beſtow a new vpon him, whereby hee may goe on in his courſe of life; but ſo to aduance him, as to make him forſake his trade, or condition, in which hee was brought vp, that meane I not to doe.*

Robert Groſthead Biſhop of Lincoln his vſage of his Kinſman.

125 I feare leaſt I haue held the Reader too long in theſe priuate matters; therefore I will for breuity ſake, omit to ſpeake of the faire Librarie which hee left behinde him, with many other memorable things (worthie the obſeruation) and returne againe vnto his publique affaires.

126 THe Archbiſhop reſpecting the welfare of the Church, and publique cauſe) albeit he was very confident of the Kings Princely wiſedome, by the experience he had thereof (being now an auncient Counſellour) and well vnderſtanding the paſſages of matters betwixt his Maieſtie, and ſtate of our Country, (whereby he did conceiue that it was not probable ſo wiſe, & learned a Prince could be ouercome with the conceits of ſuch innouatours, whoſe fancies could not ſtand but with hazard of the State) yet he held it moſt expedient to ſend that Reuerend Gentleman, Maiſter Doctor *Neuill*, Deane of Canterburie into Scotland to his Maieſtie, in the name of the Biſhops, and Cleargie of England, to tender their bounden duties, and to vnderſtand his Highneſſe pleaſure for the ordering and guiding of Cleargie cauſes. The Deane brought a moſt gracious anſwere of his Highneſſe purpoſe; which was, to vpholde, and maintaine the gouernment of the late Queene; as ſhee left it ſetled. Which anſwere did much comfort the Archbiſhop: and the rather, becauſe it did yeeld full ſatisfaction vnto ſome others, who peraduenture might conceiue ſome doubt of altera-

Doctor *Neuill*, Deane of Canterburie, ſent by the Archbiſhop and Cleargie into Scotland to the King.

alteration, by reaſon of the Puritane bragges, and their affections vnto the Presbiteriall gouernment in Scotland.

127 In this meane while, the preparations were great for ſolemnization of the late Queenes funerall; which being performed very ſumptuouſly, as became the dignitie of ſo great a Prince, the Archbiſhop, as he was the principall in the cuſtodie of the Kingdome, and chiefe in all Counſels of State, vnder his Maieſtie in his abſence (for there is no *interregnum* in England, as *Watſon* the Prieſt, did trayterouſly pretend) ſo in this laſt ſolemnitie of obſequie vnto his euer honoured Soueraigne, and Miſtreſſe, he was the moſt eminent perſon of the whole land, and principall mourner; who receiued the offering, and had the banners preſented vnto him.

Queene *Elizabeths* Funerall, April 28. 1603

128 After this, when at his Maieſties firſt enterance into England, the King had ſpoken with him at *Theobalds*, whereby he more fully conceiued his religious pleaſure touching the affaires of this Common-wealth, he was therewith put into heart, eſpecially, when after his comming to London, hee did againe perceiue his reſolution, for the continuance of the well ſetled ſtate of the Church, which made him more cheerefully prepare himſelfe for performance of his dutie (as a thing belonging vnto his place, againſt the day of Coronation, Iuly 25. 1603.

King *Iames* his Coronation, Iuly 25. 1603.

129 At which time the Archbiſhop, with all due ceremonies and obſeruances for ſo great a ſolemnitie, crowned and annointed his ſacred Maieſtie King

King IAMES in the collegiate Church of Weſtminſter. Then alſo, and there he crowned our moſt noble and gratious Queene ANNE, his Maieſties happie, and triutfull wife; whoſe bleſſed ſeed God graunt ſo to increaſe, and continue as there may neuer be wanting thereof to rule, and raigne in this Kingdome.

130 The Puritane faction did not ſurceaſe, vntill by their importunitie, they obtayned a conference before his Highneſſe, which continued for three daies. His Maieſtie, hauing now at full heard their obiections, and the Biſhops anſweres (the weakeneſſe of the one, and the forcible reaſons of the other, much confirming his royall minde in his former opinion) was pleaſed immediately thereupon to ſignifie publiquely his reſolution for the continuance of the Religion, and eccleſiaſticall gouernment, formerly eſtabliſhed; highly commending the wiſedome, care, and conſtancy of his Siſter the late Queene *Elizabeth*, in conſtituting, and maintaining all things ſo well; as alſo approuing the Biſhops learning, wiſedome, and endeauour to vphold ſo godly, and well-gouerned a Church; which himſelfe (by God his aſſiſtance) would euer aduance, and defend. Likewiſe hee gaue preſent commaund touching the new printing of the Common Prayer booke, for the further ratifying of the Liturgie, and orders of our Church.

The conference at Hampton Court, Ianu. 14. 1603.

131 The Parliament now growing on, the Archbiſhop, that hee might be the better prepared, did appoint

appoint a meeting at Fulham, at the Biſhop of London his houſe, to conferre with ſome of the Biſhops and Iudges of his Court, concerning the affaires of the Church, which were then to be treated vpon. As he was thus going in his Barge vpon an extraordinarie colde day, and hauing his Barge cloath tyed vp (as his cuſtome was) to the top of the bales, the winde blew very ſharply; ſo that the young Gentlemen (ſhaking with colde) deſired to haue the cloath downe, which hee would by no meanes permit, becauſe the water was rough, and hee would therefore ſee his way. By reaſon whereof the flaſhing of the water, and ſharpneſſe of the ayre did ſo pierce the Archbiſhop (being aboue threeſcore, and thirteene yeeres of age) that he complained the ſame night, of a great colde, which he had then taken in the mould of his head.

He was 73. yeeres olde.

132 Notwithſtanding which diſtemperature, for performance of his accuſtomed dutie vnto the Kings Maieſtie (as formerly vnto the Queene) hee went vpon the next Sabaoth following (being the firſt Sunday in Lent) ouer vnto the Court at White-Hall, where meeting the then Biſhop of London, they both had long ſpeech with his Highneſſe about the affaires of the Church, both before and after his Maieſties comming from the Chappell. For which cauſe, ſtaying long at the Court, and hauing faſted vntill it was neere one of the clocke, as hee was going from his Maieſtie vnto the Counſell chamber to

dinner, hee was taken with a dead Palſey; whereby all his right ſide was benummed, and he bereaued of his ſpeech. From the Counſell chamber he was, by meanes of his deereſt friends, the Lord Chauncellor, the Lord Treaſurer, and the Biſhop of London, with the ayde of the Kings ſeruants, carried to the Lord Treaſurers chamber, and afterwards in his Barge conueyed home to Lambehith.

133 His Maieſtie (being much troubled with the report of his ſickneſſe) came, vpon the Tueſday following, to viſite, and comfort him with very kinde, and gracious ſpeeches; ſaying, *that hee would begge him of God in his Prayer: which if he could obtaine, he ſhould thinke it one of the greateſt temporall bleſsings, that could be giuen him in this Kingdome.* The Archbiſhop made offer to ſpeake to his Maieſtie in Latine; but neither his Highneſſe, nor any there preſent, well vnderſtood what he ſaid, ſaue onely, that by the laſt words *pro Eccleſia Dei, pro Eccleſia Dei* (which in earneſt manner with his eyes and hands lift vp, hee oftentimes iterated) his Maieſtie conceiued (as it pleaſed him afterwards to report) that he continued the ſuite, which ſundrie times before and at his laſt attendance on his Highneſſe, he had earneſtly recommended vnto his royall, and ſpeciall care in behalfe of the Church.

134 After his Maieſties departure, the Archbiſhop had neither perfect vſe of his ſpeech, nor abilitie to write his minde; as he did deſire, by the ſignes that

that he vſed for inke & paper. Which being brought vnto him, and he making offer to write, had no feeling of his penne; for it fell out of his hands. When he perceiued his impotencie to write, after two or three aſſayes he fetched a great ſigh, and lay downe againe; and on Wedneſday following (at eight of the clocke at night) the laſt of Februarie 1603. hee quietly and like a Lambe, died the ſeruant of Chriſt; as in the time of his ſickneſſe, by many infallible ſignes, was manifeſt vnto my ſelfe, and thoſe that attended him in that time of his viſitation. Which cannot be better teſtified by any, then by Doctor *Barlowe*, the now Biſhop of Lincolne, together with Doctor *Buckeridge* (now Biſhop of Rocheſter) and Doctor *Charryor* his then houſhold Chaplaines; who for the moſt part, were continually with him, from the beginning of his ſickneſſe, vnto the end of the ſame. Of the manner of whoſe death, though ſome vndiſcreete men haue cenſured vncharitably, yet I may truly ſay, as *Solon* did for the happie ends of *Eleobis* and *Biton*, who in the abſence of their mothers Oxen, did yoke themſelues, and drew her in her Coach to the Temple, and after their ſacrifices performed, went to bed, and were found the next morning dead without hurt or ſorrow: So fared it with this good Archbiſhop, who wanting the aſſiſtance of ſome, who by their places ſhould haue vndergone with him the charge of guiding and ſupporting of Eccleſiaſticall affaires; tooke the yoake and

F. 6. vltim.

burden thereof himselfe for his mother the Churches sake. And when he had performed his oblations of Prayer and thanksgiuing to God: was carried to bed, and there died, without suffering hurt or sorrow. Thus he, as *Abraham* (of whom he was a true sonne) *yeelded vp the spirit, and died in a good age, an old man, and of great yeeres, and was gathered vnto his people.* He was Bishop of Worcester sixe yeeres and fiue moneths, and Archbishop of Canterburie twentie yeeres and fiue moneths.

Gen. 25. 8.

135 Now though he liued and died, no doubt, a chosen and beloued seruant of God, and one who as a learned man truly saith, *had deuoutly consecrated both his whole life to God and his painefull labours to the Church*, yet there wanted not some, who after his death sought by an infamous Libell, to staine the glorie of his euer honourable name. But their malice was soone discouered, and the Author, at least the publisher, punished by an honourable sentence, giuen in the high Court of Star-chamber.

Camden. Britannia. in Com. Kent. Pag. 338.

Lewis Pickering

136 And if what was then spoken by their Lordships and the rest of that great and iudicious Court, concerning this Archbishops pietie, wisedome, learning, and gouernment, were published in print: hee that would haue aduentured to write any thing more of him, might iustly haue beene condemned of indiscretion. Therefore as a burthen that I am not able to vndergoe, I forbeare to enter into any particular relation of their speeches and sentence.

137 His

137 His Funerall was [illegible] honorably (as befitted his place) solemnized at Croydon the 27. of March following; 1604. where the Earle of Worceſter, and the Lord *Zouch*, did him the honor in attending the [illegible] and carrying his banners. Doctor *Babbing-*[illegible] p of Worceſter, made his Funeral Sermon; [illegible]iſe was his Pupill in Cambridge, and per-formed [illegible]hat duty (among many other due obſer-uances of him in his life time) with very great com-mendation, chooſing for his text a portion of Scrip-ture moſt fitting the worthynes of his perſon. *But* Iehoida *waxed olde, and was full of daies and died. An hundred and thirtie yeares olde was hee when hee died. And they buried him in the Citie of* Dauid, *with the Kings, becauſe hee had done good in Iſraell, and toward God and his houſe.* 2 Chro. 24. 15. 16.

138 Hauing now committed the body of this moſt Reuerend perſonage (which was ſometimes the man-ſion of a moſt excellent ſoule) vnto his graue (where it reſts in aſſured expectation of a glorious reſurrecti-on) I will, for concluſion, ſpeake ſomewhat of the outward ſhape and proportion thereof. Hee was of a midle ſtature, of a graue countenaunce, and browne complexion, blacke haire and eyes, hee ware his beard neither long, nor thicke. For his ſmall timber, he was of a good quicke ſtrength, ſtraight and well ſhaped in all his limbes, to the habit of his body; which began ſomewhat to burniſh towards his latter yeeres.

139 And thus ge… not ex-
tend this discourse beyond th… ho
was the subiect thereof, I withdra…
per, intreating either thy friendly acc…
my labour, or thy farther paines in writing …
lishing some more complete, and learned o…
ons of thine owne, touching this renowned …
bishops Actions, and Fame; which could not with-
out great shame vnto my selfe, and others his follow-
ers; be buried in darkenesse with his body.

FINIS.

GEntile Reader, *the faults that are passed in the printing, I entreate thee, mend thus.*

Page.	*Line.*				
12.	22.	For	superscription,	Read	subscription.
22.	28.		they,		he.
23.	30.		enemies,		enemie.
48.	3.		Martimets,		Martinists.
51.	18.		present,		presence.
62.	7.		*Enius*,		*Enmius*.
62.	24.		proceeded,		proceede.

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